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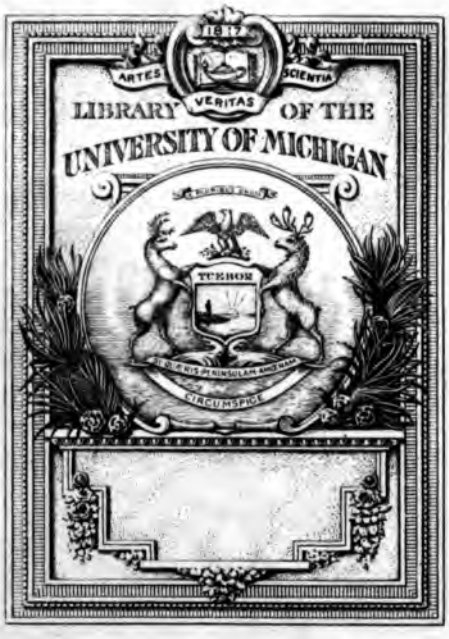
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THE

TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

FROM CHAMPLAIN TO LAURIER
MDCVIII–MCMVIII

BY

FRANK BASIL TRACY

WITH MANY FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS,
PORTRAITS AND MAPS ESPECIALLY
MADE FOR THIS WORK

VOLUME III

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CHAPTER XLII

PEACE AND ITS SEQUENCES

THE negotiations for the treaty of peace were fully as irregular and partook of the same opera-bouffe qualities as the other features of this war. The Czar of Russia had been very much shocked by the action of the United States, with which Russia was on most friendly terms, in declaring war against England, which was practically an ally of Russia. As early as September, 1812, Nicholas offered mediation to the United States and Great Britain through the ministers from those countries at St. Petersburg. The American minister there was John Quincy Adams, and he responded quite promptly in favor of taking up the matter, but the English held off. However, because of this action of the Czar, the United States Government subsequently appointed three peace envoys, consisting of Adams, J. A. Bayard of Delawere, and Albert Gallatin, who had been Secretary of the Treasury, but whose prestige became so diminished that he was glad to take up this work, and, in fact, suggested his own appointment to Madison. From June, 1813, to January, 1814, these three commissioners or envoys remained in St. Petersburg, awaiting the action of Great Britain on the sole question of making peace. At last,

The preliminary negotiations

American envoys marking time

in the summer of 1814, Castlereagh, the British Foreign Minister, agreed to appoint commissioners, and Ghent was designated as the meeting-place. In addition to the three already appointed, two other American envoys were named, Henry Clay of Kentucky and Jonathan Russell of Rhode Island. In August the five met together at Ghent and were confronted by three British envoys, Lord Gambier, Henry Goulbourn, and Dr. William Adams.

"The Puritan and the blackleg"

Space will not admit a recitation of the various proceedings of these envoys. In John Quincy Adams's diary we have some very interesting records of this Yankee's dissatisfaction with his colleagues, particularly with Clay, whose fondness for gambling, card-playing, drinking, and kindred excesses was not relished at all by the Great Man of Quincy, Massachusetts. It was most fitting, therefore, that John Randolph should afterward rise in the United States Senate and point out with his matchless satire "the unholy coalition of the Puritan and the blackleg," by which for the first and only time in the history of the United States, in 1824, the House of Representatives elected a President, Adams being the man, and he selected Clay, one of his opponents in the Presidential contest, to be his Secretary of State.

Differences within the peace commission

There were other elements of discord in this commission from the United States. Ross and Bayard were rather colorless; one could be depended upon to pull one way and the other the opposite. Clay was very insistent on the right of the United States to dominate the commerce of the Mississippi, while, on the other hand, Adams was very urgent in protecting the rights of the American fishermen

in Newfoundland waters. The contest between these two men on this point continued for some time, and it was only by the ability and wisdom of Gallatin that any sort of unity of purpose was secured. The British envoys were by comparison obscure and meagre. They were outflanked from the beginning by the Americans, who, despite their quarrelsomeness, were among the most able of American public men. The British were put into a false position by laying down an ultimatum from which they were afterward compelled to recede. The Americans also had set forth certain demands which they in turn had to forego.

The British envoys obscure

The outcome of all the wire-pulling and negotiations, which were abandoned several times as impossible, was as farcical as the entire war and the negotiations had been. Not a single point was settled by the treaty. The United States went to war with Great Britain, as we have already seen, for several avowed purposes. One was to prevent impressment of American seamen. Another was to secure the recognition of the rights of American citizens who had been British subjects, and still another was to secure a careful delimitation of the frontier. The British, on the other hand, were contesting for more land, to secure territory from which they were unjustly deprived by the Treaty of Paris which concluded the American Revolution, and to obtain a neutral Indian zone in the west. It looked at one time as if it would be impossible for them to fail to secure more land, especially after they had obtained the fort at Castine, Maine, and had compelled a great many of the willing citizens to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. But

Not a single disputed point settled by the treaty

A most welcome peace in the United States

absolutely none of these things was touched upon in the treaty of peace. The only thing that was done was to agree to peace and to appoint commissioners for the determination of boundaries between the United States and Canada in Maine, on Lake Superior, and the Lake of the Woods. It seems incredible that such an absurd treaty of peace could have been concluded, and yet it was one of the most satisfactory conclusions a war ever had. To a people tired of the war the fact that any sort of peace had been reached was enough. The United States rang with shouts and bells from one end to the other, and for the only time in all history a treaty of peace was ratified unanimously and almost without debate by the United States Senate. The Hartford Convention, which had assembled in the winter of 1814, had declared that the war was a failure, and the influence of this declaration was thought likely to be great; but the news of the peace treaty came at the same time as the arrival of the delegates from the Hartford Convention in Washington, and the peace tidings completely eclipsed from public notice the deliberations of the wise men at Hartford.

Canada not eager for peace

In Canada the news did not create so much enthusiasm. On the whole, Lower Canada had really known nothing about the war, as her territory had scarcely been invaded. Upper Canada gloried in her achievements, and while undoubtedly the people were glad that war was to cease and they could resume their peaceful occupations, they felt great satisfaction in the record they had made.

Thus passed into history the War of 1812. It was a very peculiar war, and included active con-

flicts on land and mighty battles on the sea. It was the last of the great sea contests in which wooden vessels were engaged. The number of vessels that were captured is almost incredible.

CREDITABLE ONLY TO THE CANADIANS

The worst fought war in all history

As to the main question of all, which party got the better of it, the answer is very difficult. American historians all claim, of course, that "we licked Great Britain twice," and the British authors take the opposite view. As a matter of fact, there is very little credit to either party in the contest. It was undoubtedly, as Mr. Henry Adams says, the worst fought war in all history. It was marked by the most remarkable stupidity, the most glaring mistakes, and the most ludicrous blunders. There was no great leader on either side on land, and the rank and file of the American militia were poor stuff. It is commonly believed that the Americans were more victorious on sea than on land, but even their record on the sea is not signally victorious, for after the first year their defeats greatly exceeded their victories. So it is a fair draw between the two competitors on sea. On land, it seems to me that the advantage was rather with the British, or we would rather say with the Canadians, for of the three parties in the war, American, English, and Canadians, undoubtedly the Canadians did the best fighting. This is not surprising, because a people whose soil is invaded makes always a very stubborn and brilliant defense. Considering the immensely superior resources of the Americans at the beginning of the war, and the preparedness, nominally at least, of the American troops, it was clearly a de-

Canadians did the best fighting

Americans fail to take any important posts in Canada

feat for them that they were not able to advance and hold any important points in Upper Canada; while Lower Canada, with its immensely greater population and its comparatively large cities, Montreal and Quebec, was wholly unmenaced. But it is rather fruitless speculation to indulge in comparisons as to victories and defeats in that contest. The blunders were so overshadowing that one is tempted to forget such really brilliant battles as Lundy's Lane, Queenston, Fort Erie, and New Orleans. As I said before, the greatest credit belongs to the Upper Canadians, who valiantly defended their soil, and who after an existence of only about thirty years, in which hardships predominated, showed themselves to be composed of the pluck, energy, and thrift out of which grow a sturdy people and an enlightened civilization.

Plucky Upper Canadians

PREVOST'S RECALL AND DEATH

AMONG the after-events of the war, that which is most interesting to us is the history of Prevost. After his miserable fiasco at Lake Champlain he was relieved of his command because of the representations of Sir James Yeo that he had forced Captain Downie to fight the naval battle before he was ready. Shortly after the receipt at Quebec of the signing of the treaty of peace, Sir George Murray arrived there with a letter for Prevost from Lord Bathurst, informing him that his commission as Governor-General would be revoked. This was a heavy blow to Prevost, as he had, he thought, thoroughly justified himself in all his actions. When the news that he was recalled was made known, the Assembly passed a vote of highest respect for his

The Assembly regrets Prevost's departure

character and thanks for the services he had rendered Canada. This showed how strongly he was entrenched with the French element. The Legislative Council took no action at the time, but later refused to join with the House in agreeing to buy plate to the value of $5,000 as a memorial gift. However, when Prevost left Canada, on the 3d of April, he carried with him the enthusiastic support of the people of Quebec and of a large proportion of the people of Montreal. The English residents, however, were against him almost to a man, conspicuously Bishop Mountain. Prevost used all the influence he could secure to get an early trial, but the usual delays were encountered, and the date of the trial was not set until the 15th of the following January. In the mean time his health had greatly declined. He was afflicted with dropsy, and on the 8th of January, 1816, just one year after the battle of New Orleans, he died. His widow attempted to have the court-martial proceed, but, of course, as no court is constituted to judge the dead, that was impossible. His family, however, continued to press the Government for investigation of his conduct, and finally a general order appeared in September, 1816, conferring on his family, on account of his services in the West Indies and in Canada, as a memorial a crest with the West Indies on one side and Canada on the other. The Duke of York also afterward made a statement in defense of Prevost's character. It is probable that the English authors and the British public in Canada generally were too severe on Prevost. His military faults indeed were many, but his civil administration was generally marked by wise tactics and successful policy.

Prevost strong with the French element

Dies Jan. 8, 1816

British Government honors his family

If the governor-generals who succeeded him had known as well as he how to control and gain the sympathy of the French element, the political progress of Canada would have been much more rapid, and some painful chapters of her history would never have been written.

Sir Gordon Drummond administrator of Lower Canada

Sir Gordon Drummond, who had been Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, was appointed administrator of Lower Canada, and arrived at Quebec in April, 1815. He was in ill-health and anxious to leave for England, but was not allowed to do so until May of the following year. Sir George Murray had been appointed his successor as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, but before he had been there more than a few weeks he learned of the arrival of Napoleon in France from Elba, and at once returned to England to join his regiment. About 10,000 British troops in Canada left about the same time. None of them, however, was able to take any part in the defeat of Napoleon, for the Battle of Waterloo occurred while they were on the sea.

English ignorance of Canada

It is amusing to notice in the readjustment of Canadian affairs after the war what absurd ideas the British authorities had regarding Canada's future. They not only allowed Canada to have no voice in the settlement of the terms of peace, but they probably would have been willing to give Canada to the United States if the latter had shown a way in which it could be conveniently done. There is on record a very brilliant letter written by the Colonial Secretary, Earl Bathurst, recommending that a sort of No Man's Land north and west of Lake Champlain be constituted, in which no settle-

ment should be made. In those districts Hemingford, Sherbrooke, Godmanchester, and Hinchinbrook, some of the most fertile land and important farming settlements of Canada, are now situated.

THE OLD TROUBLE BETWEEN THE RACES

THE good feeling between the Legislative Assembly and the Governor, which had been so conspicuous and welcome during the governorship of Prevost, did not long continue after his departure. This was not Drummond's fault, so far as we can see. The first source of inharmony after Drummond had taken his seat was the announcement made by him to the Assembly that the Prince Regent had dismissed the impeachments preferred against Chief Justices Sewell and Monk by the Assembly. This was an old sore, and, while it is difficult to see how the clash could have been avoided, the action of the Government at London was unnecessarily harsh. The impeachments of these two justices had come about through a number of circumstances, involving really slight misunderstanding or dissatisfaction on the part of the French inhabitants, who generally claimed that the two chief justices had exceeded their power and shown bias for the English element. This notification from the Governor reached the Assembly on the 2d of February, 1816, only a few days after it met, and in the latter week of that month the Assembly passed resolutions asking to be allowed to prove the charges they had made against the justices. But such action on their part had been anticipated by the Crown, and Drummond had received instructions to dissolve the Assembly, which he did, an act for which he was severely blamed,

British Government affronts the Assembly

Assembly dissolved for impertinence

but for which he was not responsible. This was the beginning of a long series of disputes, which culminated in the trouble of the thirties. Such differences were inevitable, but wise administration might have modified if not entirely prevented them.

The new House which was returned under this arbitrary dissolution was as strongly organized against English domination as the other had been, so the effects of the dissolution were unsatisfactory from the Government standpoint, as might well have been known. Drummond was a sick man, and had asked the year before to be allowed to return home. Now his wish was gratified, and on the 1st of May, 1816, he left Quebec and Canada forever.

Drummond leaves Canada

SHERBROOKE'S ADMINISTRATION

His successor, Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, arrived in Quebec on the following 21st of July. Sherbrooke was the inheritor of a large crop of trouble from Drummond, but he so conducted affairs as to prevent in a large measure any unfortunate results. He was an officer of high reputation, had obtained distinction in India, and under Wellington in the Peninsular campaigns. He had been Governor of Nova Scotia, so he had some knowledge of Canadian affairs. The first circumstance which confronted him on his arrival was a disastrous crop failure, one of the few blights of that sort which has ever come to the St. Lawrence Valley. In the presence of this calamity Governor Sherbrooke acted with promptness and ability. He advanced from his own means sufficient funds to prevent a famine in the most severely afflicted parishes, and the crop failure was not felt anywhere as severely as would

A bad crop failure

SIR JOHN COPE SHERBROOKE
1764-1830

Sherbrooke tells British Government it blundered

otherwise have been the case. He also showed his statesmanlike qualities in dealing with the Colonial Secretary. He told that official that such exhibitions of dissolving the Assembly when it passed votes that were contrary to the Government's instructions could only react upon the Government and serve to intensify the already existing bad feeling. He asserted in his letter to Bathurst that it was impossible for him longer to support Chief Justices Sewell and Monk in their attitude. Sewell particularly had been offensive as presiding officer of the Legislative Council, and it was far better that he should no longer have official countenance. It is unfortunate that this advice of Sherbrooke, which was so excellent, should not have been followed. It was adopted in part, but, owing to Sherbrooke's short term, his counsels were not continued beyond his own time.

Papineau's first election

The next January saw the entrance into prominent public affairs of Louis Joseph Papineau, who was then elected Speaker of the new House of Assembly. He was when elected, and had previously been, sincerely loyal to the Government of Great Britain, and in all respects his conduct at that time was praiseworthy. This Assembly saw, by means of Sherbrooke's diplomatic and courteous representations to the Assembly, a quietus put upon the impeachment of the justices. Although James Stuart, a disturbing factor in the House, tried to revive this matter, he was defeated, and in disgust left the House and did not reappear for several years. The House was bent on having an agent in England, and had several times passed resolutions in favor of this office, only to have them voted down by the

Legislative Council. It took a good many years for this measure to go through, and it would have been much better if the English faction had permitted the colony some sort of representation in London from the first. It was at this session that the salary of £1,000 a year was voted for both the Speaker of the House and the President of the Council.

House wants representation in London

Another judge fell under the disapprobation of the Assembly at this time, Justice Foucher, who was charged with rendering a judgment in favor of a partner in business and with other improper acts. The Assembly brought charges against him, which the Council refused to endorse. This placed Sherbrooke in an embarrassing position, and he got out of it by privately asking Foucher to suspend his functions for a while until the matter could be settled in England. Subsequently the prosecution was dropped and Foucher resumed his duties. Among the other incidents of Sherbrooke's short régime was the gathering of a large number of Indian tribes, who had been favorable to Great Britain during the war, to determine what they should do. Representations were made to both Canadian and American authorities, and the Indians were finally persuaded to make their homes on American soil and were promised freedom from molestation, a promise which we all know was not kept. During Sherbrooke's time the Bank of Montreal was incorporated and the first steps toward neutralizing war vessels on the lakes were taken. It was also during this time that the Roman Catholic bishop was formally recognized by the British Government, with the title of Bishop of Quebec.

Providing homes for Indians

Up to this time the control of the finances of the

Province had been in the hands of the Imperial authorities. They had made up the deficit in the revenues each year, and on that account claimed justly the right to say what the Civil List should be.

Assembly to control civil list

Now, however, on petition of the Assembly, the Crown gave assent to the plan of allowing the Assembly to make out the Civil List—*i. e.*, payment for salaries, etc.—for the Province and to provide the funds for its payment. There had been an excess in the Provincial funds for the past three or four years; that is, the revenues had been greater than the expenditures, and in this way the large surplus of about £120,000 had piled up. It was now proposed to use this fund for the further payment of the Civil List. Things were running along rather smoothly now, and the future was bright for harmony, but Sherbrooke's health gave way and he was compelled to resign, sailing for England on the 12th of August, 1818. Although he had suffered a stroke of paralysis while in Quebec, he did not die until 1830, in his sixty-sixth year. He was one of the ablest of all Canadian Governors, and in his brief two years did more good to the Province than any other administrator in the same length of time.

Sherbrooke resigns, a loss to the Province

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND

His successor, however, was a reactionist of the extreme type. The Duke of Richmond came to Canada with great prestige and great promise. His high rank, for he was the first (and last) duke sent to govern Canada, inclined the people toward him, and his services to the Crown in India and on the Continent were well known. It was he who gave the famous ball at Brussels on June 15, 1815, on

"There was a sound of revelry by night"

the eve of the Battle of Waterloo, which Byron has made immortal. Other incidents of his career are interesting, for while a colonel he had fought a duel with the Duke of York, a son of the King, thereby securing popularity among some classes and unpopularity among others. He was a man of splendid spirits and excellent character, and no one thought that he was such a Tory as he proved to be. With him to Canada came Sir Peregrine Maitland, who had been appointed Governor of Upper Canada, and afterward became his son-in-law.

Fought a duel with the king's son

Everybody was delighted with the Governor on his arrival in Canada. They believed that his official action would be as pleasant and satisfactory as his social attitude, but they were soon undeceived. His first speech to the Assembly showed him to be an extremist. He brought forth an annual estimate which was £15,000 larger than the preceding and included a provision of £18,000 for pensions. Opposition manifested itself to this proposition from the beginning. The House of Assembly, having secured the right to pay for the support of the Government in Canada, believed it had the right to fix the salaries and decide what the amounts of other payments should be; so it did pass a bill fixing these amounts, but the Legislative Council, taking as usual the extreme pro-English view, refused to endorse its action. Very little, therefore, was done by this Parliament, and when it was prorogued by the Governor in April, he censured the members for their refusal to provide the Civil List. The impression made upon the people by his speech was disturbing. Throughout the French districts there was great dissatisfaction.

An extremist

Censures the Assembly

The duke talked to the Assembly as if the members were serfs.

Duke of Richmond personally delightful

Meanwhile all who came in contact with the Duke were charmed with him. He led in all sorts of social recreation. His dinners were very popular. He was a devotee of the theatre, a fine horseman, and one of the best tennis players in Canada. In fact he was hospitality itself, and had he remained in Canada long enough he might have had his views of his position modified by coming in contact with Canadian people, and have been as generally popular as he was in the circle in which he moved. In June, after the dissolution of the Parliament, he made a journey to Upper Canada, and it was on this journey that he lost his life. He was petting a tame fox when it bit him. No fatal results were expected of this wound, but a few weeks later hydrophobia appeared, although it was not recognized at the time. When the party reached a point on the Ottawa near where the city of Ottawa now stands, he leaped from the boat and ran along the road until he reached a barn where he lay exhausted in a fit upon the hay. A doctor was summoned and he was removed to a shanty nearby, where he died a few hours later. This pathetic end for such a brilliant life came on August 27, 1819. A man who had gone through a number of duels unharmed and had seen the finest society of England, India, and the Continent was thus to die in a hut in the wilderness of far-off Canada. His remains were taken to Quebec and were buried in the cathedral, where a memorial window now stands. One of his daughters lived to a great age, dying in England in the year 1900.

Dies from the bite of a tame fox

THE RÉGIME OF DALHOUSIE

His successor was Lord Dalhousie, who had been Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. Before his arrival Sir Peregrine Maitland was administrator, and it was during this interim that another session of the Lower Canadian Parliament was held. At the same time the news reached Canada that George III had died at last and that George IV had become his successor. The Earl of Dalhousie arrived in Quebec, June 18, 1820. He had had a distinguished military career, being at that time lieutenant-general in the army. He had served in Quebec and Egypt and at Waterloo, receiving thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his services in the latter battle.

Dalhousie's brilliant career

A new Assembly was elected soon after Dalhousie arrived. This was made necessary by the death of the King, and the result was another victory of the French element. No sooner had Parliament met than the two Houses resumed their old quarrel regarding the Civil List. The real basis of this quarrel was the fundamental right of the Assembly, which provided the funds for the Civil List, to order what that Civil List should be. Perhaps this right might have been acknowledged by the Legislative Council, which asserted, however, that no items on this list should be authorized except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. In making up the list the Assembly had shown considerable partisan bias, and had also cut out a number of useless officers and sinecures, which provoked the wrath of the persons whose jobs were abolished. As most of these were English, they resorted to the

Quarrel over offices resumed

Legislative Council for satisfaction. The debate upon this subject was kept up throughout the session, but no agreement was reached. An investigation about this time proved that Receiver-General Caldwell was a defaulter, and he was suspended from his office in 1823. For a poor Province to lose nearly half a million dollars through defalcation was a serious blow, but the Province was getting over its deficit, and, although it was unable to recover any of this money, it stood the loss without much apparent harm. As a matter of fact, all Canada by this time was becoming quite prosperous. Immigrants had poured in, and the eastern townships alone then contained a population as large as that of all Canada at the time of the conquest. The revenue of Lower Canada had increased to $750,000. The Lachine and Rideau Canals were in operation, and manufacturing was beginning on a small scale. Still the racial disputes continued as vexatious as ever, and the sessions of the Parliament were constantly harassed with quarrels whose only basis was racial antipathy.

Receiver-General a defaulter

Immigration sets in

The two Provinces quarrel

The Lower Province now found itself quarreling with Upper Canada. A large share of the revenues of both Provinces was from import duties on goods from England. The goods to Upper Canada came through Lower Canada, and yet only a portion of the duties levied upon them was paid into the treasury of Upper Canada, where the goods were really used. This was discrimination and unjust, and Upper Canada, in 1822, protested against it. So bored and irritated was the Imperial Parliament at the quarrel of the two Provinces that a bill was drawn up providing for their union, which would

have been a death-blow to the supremacy of the French element. Such a strong protest was made against this provision, however, that it was thrown out of the bill, and an act was finally passed called the Canada Trade Act, which practically conceded all the demands of Upper Canada.

No Militia act in Lower Canada

The French element in Lower Canada continued to be as assertive and aggressive as before, and even refused, in 1827, to renew the Militia act, and thus the colony was without means of defense. There was no serious need of defense, but the jingoes of the United States kept up their warlike talk, and it was certainly not an ideal condition for any country to have no troops at all. The British House of Commons, having its attention called to this condition of affairs in the spring of 1828, appointed a committee of twenty-one members to investigate the government of Lower Canada. Their recommendations were rather progressive, for they reported in favor of giving the Assembly full control of all public revenues and expenditures except for the executive and judiciary.

Dalhousie retires, June 6, 1828

Dalhousie in the mean time had determined to retire from his office at the expiration of his term, and on the 6th of June, 1828, he did so to accept the position of commander-in-chief in India. One of his last reports to the Government was that the Assembly would not be satisfied unless it had control of all Provincial revenues and expenditures. Dalhousie had been, on the whole, a successful administrator, considering the limitations and embarrassments to which he was subject from London, and while little is ever heard of him now, and few traces of his administration are to be found in Can-

Bishop Mountain dies

ada, his memory deserves a better fate. It was Dalhousie who started the movement for the monument to Wolfe and Montcalm which was dedicated the very day he left Quebec for London. During his administration Bishop Mountain, the first Anglican bishop of Canada, died in 1825 at the age of seventy-six, and was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Stuart, who had been a rector in Canada for several years. It was also during his administration that the great fires in New Brunswick occurred, for the relief of the sufferers from which subscriptions were taken up in Great Britain, the United States, and both Upper and Lower Canada. Just before he went away there started a conflict which

Papineau becomes abusive

grew directly into the Rebellion of '37. This conflict came about through the intemperate utterances of Papineau, Speaker of the House. During his campaign for reelection to the Assembly he had used most heated and violent language regarding Dalhousie, and in fact his general attitude was such that the Governor-General refused to sanction his election as Speaker, although he had already served six terms in that office.

CHAPTER XLIII

A PERIOD OF DISCORD

IT seemed to be the policy of the British Government to promote the Governor of Nova Scotia to the governorship of Canada, and Sir James Kempt was the next to follow in that line of succession. Sir James Kempt was also lieutenant-general in the British army, and had obtained considerable distinction in various campaigns. He was sixty-four years of age when he went to Quebec, and did not at any time hold the position of Governor-General, being merely administrator. It was soon learned after the beginning of his administration that he would pursue a conciliatory tenor, and this was the sort of policy that he continued throughout his brief term. He confirmed Papineau's election as Speaker. He pursued an altogether different policy toward the Quebec "Gazette," the official organ of the Government, from that which had obtained. Previously it had been openly a pro-British paper, now, he notified the editors that they should be impartial, and not be governed by any predilection toward the British side. About the same time the troubles of Robert Christie began. Christie was a resident of Gaspé and represented that district in the Assembly. He was very strongly British in disposition and affiliations and

Kempt allows Papineau to become Speaker

Robert Christie of Gaspé

he angered the French element so much that they brought accusations against him of having bought up justices, and made other disgraceful charges. When he appeared before the House, in 1828, to be admitted, a majority refused him entrance. This trouble of Christie continued for years, his people electing him year after year and the Assembly refusing to admit him. The inhabitants of Gaspé Peninsula became so angered over this treatment that they were strongly inclined toward annexation to New Brunswick or Maine. During all this time Kempt did what he could to help the cause of impartiality, and was fairer to the French element than any other Governor they had had since Prevost. The Assembly therefore treated him much better than they had treated the other Governors, and passed the Civil List without serious trouble, although cutting it down considerably. This bill for the Civil List had a narrow escape in the Legislative Council, where the vote on it was a tie, but Chief Justice Sewell, the Speaker, claimed to have two votes, one as Speaker and one as a Councilman, and he voted to cast a second vote for the bill, and thus carried it. This assumption on his part of the right to two votes was absurd, and, when the matter was brought before the Imperial authorities, was negatived. It is impossible to know what would have been the future of the Province had this or that Governor been retained; so it is impossible to pass judgment upon Kempt's administration. It was certainly more peaceful than the others had been, but whether a conciliatory policy would have won in the end or only postponed the day of final reckoning, no one can say. There was no objection to Sir

Gaspé angered

Kempt conciliatory

James Kempt from the majority of the people, but very likely there was some protest from the British element, and that was powerful enough to cause his recall. At any rate there was a change of administration in England. The Whigs came in, and they determined to appoint one of their men Governor-General of Canada.

LORD AYLMER AS GOVERNOR

THIS was Lord Aylmer, who arrived at Quebec in October, 1831. Almost immediately after his arrival there was an election because of the death of George IV. This election brought no change in public affairs; Papineau was reelected Speaker, and there was no opposition to him from the Governor. But there was, of course, the usual irreconcilable conflict from the beginning, for the same old question as to the right of the Assembly to dictate the terms of the Civil List came up. This is a very irritating story, and it becomes more wearisome each year as the fight continues. It is almost like saying the alphabet over and over again. Aylmer was authorized to make a more liberal proposition than the British Government had ever made before. He notified the Assembly that a bill would be introduced into the Imperial Parliament turning over to the Assembly control of the crown duties and other revenues amounting to about £38,000 a year, provided the Assembly would guarantee a Civil List (of £19,000 a year) during the King's lifetime, as was done in England. The timber duties and other casual and territorial revenue amounting to £11,231 a year, however, were to remain in the care of the Canadian Government. This was quite a concession,

Death of George IV

Concessions offered by Britain rejected by Canada's French party

The Assembly's grievances

but the Assembly was not in a compromising attitude and rejected the proposition. In its place it submitted a number of resolutions declaring its members' grievances. In spite of this action, the British Ministry had passed a bill turning over to the Canadian Parliament the control of the revenues referred to, although it was fought tenaciously by certain members, including the Duke of Wellington. This fair-minded spirit on the part of the British Ministry was wholly lost on the Canadian Assembly; it refused as tenaciously as before to pass the Civil List. The French party in the Province was daily becoming more insistent in its attitude and more difficult to please. It resisted every effort or every incident which seemed to menace in any way its supremacy in Lower Canada.

Immigrants from Ireland unwelcome

On account of the famine in Ireland over 50,000 people, in 1831, emigrated to Canada. Most were in destitute circumstances, and in spite of the fact that nearly all of them were Roman Catholics the French Canadians were exceedingly exasperated because of their arrival, and resolutions were passed at various meetings of French Canadians blaming the British Government for permitting these Irishmen to land on Canadian soil. And they were particularly wroth at the Government because it assigned land to these newcomers, for the French believed that all that Province belonged to them. In spite of this mutinous feeling, the British Ministry continued to act in a compromise spirit, which apparently seemed supine to the French.

The British Government conceded to the Assembly the right to report the Supply Bill by items, which

was one of the chief points of contest; for, if the Assembly had the right to arrange the various items, this meant that it could fix the salaries of all officers. So doing, on the very first Supply Bill the amount was £7,000 short of the sum required, which the Crown would have to make up; but this was too much for the patriotism of the ruling figures in the Legislative Council, and they rejected the bill, and the contest became even more heated than before.

The French element over-reaches itself

By this time the British Government saw that the French element would not yield any points at all, but demanded more concessions. It was at last time to call a halt, so in response to the request from the Assembly that the Legislative Council be made an elective body, Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, declared that he would not make such a recommendation, and he also hinted that if this request were persisted in, he might have to change the charter of the Province. There was a threat, of course, in this, and when the Legislature met in the early part of 1834 the French and English elements were growing more hostile to each other daily. The Assembly refused to pass any Supply Bills, and occupied its time with passing ninety-two resolutions, consisting chiefly of grievances, which it appointed one of its number to carry to London to present to the House of Commons. This appeal with the ninety-two resolutions had its effect on the House of Commons, and a select committee was appointed to investigate the conditions of Lower Canada, and see whether there was any justification for these resolutions and grievances. This committee met in May, and continued its dis-

Britain warns the Assembly, and it retaliates

cussions until the 3d of July, when it brought in its report.

A Parliamentary committee reports against the Assembly

It would have been much better if this whole committee had gone to Canada; but the time for that seemed to Parliament not to have come. An interesting and significant point about this committee, however, was that, although some of its members were members of the previous committee which had reported in favor of the petition of the majority of the Assembly, this time their report was directly opposite to the previous one, they declaring that the Governors of Lower Canada had done their duty and had acted well, and that the only fault was with the two Houses, which seemed bound not to agree with each other. It was apparently the belief of the committee that the British Crown had made all the concessions possible to the French element, and that it would be necessary from that time on to safeguard the rights of the British party as well.

The angry attitude of the Papineau faction

This report, which was so disappointing to the expectations of the Papineau faction, was received by them with great anger. It had been apparent that their intentions were to get as many concessions from the home Government as possible. By pressing their demands so persistently, they had been able to advance very far from the privileges which they had at the beginning. Now they came to realize that they had gone too far; that the British nation was unwilling to retreat another step, and that any progress which they could make toward greater power in Lower Canada must be secured without relation to but rather defiance of the Government at London. This discovery, of course, put them all

in ugly temper because they were, they knew, not prepared to assume responsibility for so drastic an act as separation. Their response to the Governor's speech notifying them of the report of the committee to the House of Commons was a resolution to expunge from the records of the journals of the House his address censuring them when he prorogued the previous session. They continued to assume their right to control all the revenues of the Province, and they again passed demands for an elected Council, and added more to their ninety-two resolutions and grievances. The Governor saw a good chance to get even with them for refusing to pass the Civil List, so he refused to advance money for the contingent expenses of the House. This was good tactics on his part, but it served only to increase the irritation of the majority of the Assembly. Nothing could be done by a Legislature and Governor as divided as these were, consequently the dismal old program of prorogation was again followed.

Not prepared for separation

This same year Sir Robert Peel again became Prime Minister of England, and he determined to find out by investigation what was the source of the troubles in Lower Canada. He was thrown from power before he could appoint this commission, but Melbourne, his successor, carried out the idea, and three men were directed to proceed to Lower Canada and study the situation fundamentally. These three men were the Earl of Gosford, Sir Charles Grey, and Sir George Gipps. At the same time Lord Aylmer was recalled, the Earl of Gosford having been decided upon for Governor-General as well as commissioner.

Investigation by a Parliamentary commission

UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE REVOLT

WE have now arrived at a point in the history of Lower Canada when the issues have become clearly defined between the two parties, and it may be well to study more in detail the history of the cause of this rupture between the French and the English which was now rapidly plunging the Province into civil war. The real source of the dissatisfaction of the French element in Quebec was the sudden liberty which they received from the Constitutional Act of 1791. Whoever was responsible for allowing the French element then the right of the franchise and the elective Parliament was the greatest enemy to Canada's progress. At this time we can readily see how it came about that a popular Assembly should have been constituted. Democratic ideas were filling the air; the French Revolution was on; the American Revolution had just ended, and the British Government undoubtedly felt that the best step to take would be to give the freest civil government to all its subjects in Canada. The new residents, or U. E. L., who had come into and had founded Upper Canada, were, of course, insistent upon the franchise and a popular Assembly. They took that for granted, and the British Government did not see how it could give this boon to one Province and deny it to the other. This was where it made a very serious mistake, a vital mistake, for, while it is very difficult for us to suggest an alternative proposition which would have been satisfactory to both sides, it probably would have been much better to deny the popular Assembly to both of the Provinces when only one was ready for

Too great freedom given the habitants in 1791

Better no Assembly at all

it than it was to grant it to both; for, while despotism would likely be increased through the lack of popular Assembly in both Provinces, yet the democratic spirit in all frontier life would have made such a despotism in either of the Canadas practically impossible. There was no general demand on the part of the French for a popular Assembly. They had never heard of such a thing during the one hundred and fifty years of French rule. They did not see the need of it, and they could not therefore really ask for it. True, a few had petitioned for it, but the great bulk of the petitions for it came from the British residents. The habitants were wholly satisfied when they were allowed the right to practise their religion and to cultivate their fields without hindrance. They never had aspired in a large measure to exercise the right of the franchise or to understand what it meant, but by the cupidity of their leaders in the early part of the century they came to throw all their influence and ballots toward the perpetuation of a faction which should be in the long run opposed to British rule. And meanwhile the authorities in London were by their inefficiency only hastening the revolt. They tried coercion and conciliation by turns, showing that there was no definite policy. This naturally weakened immensely their strength and influence over the French. Then, too, the British leaders had an absurd idea that the French Province might break away and become annexed to the United States, when, as a matter of fact, the habitants hated the Americans more than they did the English. The trouble in Lower Canada was due chiefly to British blunders, the principal one of which was the conferring of the franchise on the

Despotism impossible

British Government was vacillating

inhabitants without restriction when nine-tenths of them were unable to read or write and had no conception of what democracy meant.

The spread of world-wide revolt

It is, however, impossible to treat this rebellion and the uprising in Upper Canada apart from similar movements throughout the world. It was a great Reform era, and with reform often goes rebellion as a complement. It was during this decade that a revolution in France made Louis Philippe king; and this revolt set others in motion. The Belgians arose and set up an independent existence; the Polish uprising began, which drenched that province in blood; Italy was rent with civil strife; in England the Reform bill was passed, to be succeeded in the next decade by the repeal of the Corn Laws; about this time, 1832, slavery was abolished in all the British colonies, as the result of sharp, active protests; in the United States, South Carolina passed its Nullification resolutions, and threatened to leave the Union, and the Civil War, which came in 1861, seemed certain three decades before. Canada was in the grip of a world movement of unrest, with sufficient local causes to make the revolts here peculiarly significant and strong.

French dissatisfaction

With these fundamental considerations in mind, it is very easy to trace the progress of French dissatisfaction from its beginnings to its culmination in revolt. That story has been told in the previous pages in detail, and a few sentences here are given only to make the connection more vivid. First there was a French majority in the Assembly. This majority indicated, of course, the strength of the French people in the colony, and the further along we go in their history, we see that this majority

in the Assembly has grown consistently larger. This might be taken to be, and it really was, a manifestation of the French habitants' appreciation of their strength; and having seen their strength, they were led by their leaders to demand everything that their great numerical majority seemed strong enough to force. Probably at the beginning this demand was moderate and sincerely based upon honest desire for larger power and larger rewards, but we have seen clearly, that as the years went by, this demand for larger power became unreasonable and unjustifiable. It was helped along immensely by the vacillating policy of the British Government and by the representatives they sent to this country. One governor, like Prevost, would grant practically all that the French party desired, and would even go so far as to affront the British in order to please the French. Another, like the Duke of Richmond, conceived and enforced the old autocratic idea of government in which the House of Assembly was an anomaly and useless. Still the net result was that greater and greater concessions were made to the French. These were taken by the French leaders to mean weakness and fear on the part of the British Government. This backing down, as the policy of the Crown had certainly come to be, encouraged Papineau and other radicals to believe that if they went still further and demanded separate government, an independent colony, England after a show of bluster would yield. A corollary to this proposition of the French undoubtedly was that the more threatening, fierce, and violent were their actions, the more surely and quietly would they attain their end. Of course it is perfectly evident to all

Different policies by different Governors

The first talk of independence

A foolish dream

historical and political students that the traversing of an independent colony, through which Great Britain would have to go in order to reach her own colony of Upper Canada, would be absurd and impossible, even if, as has seldom been the case, Great Britain was willing to give up anything that had once been hers. But the Papineau faction did not see this. They were crazed with the thought of an independent nation, with Papineau as its first president. What a turbulent, ill-ruled nation that would have been! One shudders and smiles in turn at its contemplation. There was just one agency which could have stopped all this nonsense and put an end to all these fond dreams of independence. That was the Roman Catholic Church. That church had shown itself in crises in the history of Canada under England to be loyal and wise, and it was again to show itself loyal and wise in a crisis. So much to its credit; but it would have been much better if, before the crisis came, it had laid its restraining, soothing and commanding hand upon the misguided habitant and thrust his rash leaders away from his door.

Gosford reaches Quebec, Aug. 23, 1835

This was the situation that faced the Gosford commission, sent out by the Melbourne Government, when it reached Quebec on August 23, 1835. Gosford was plainly not the man for the place. It is very difficult to see any reason for his selection. The only possible excuse for it was that he was an earl of very high rank, and it was difficult to secure any other titled person to take the position. A short time after the commissioners reached Quebec, Lord Aylmer and his family departed.

During the interval between the arrival of Gos-

ford and the assembling of Parliament, on October 27th, Gosford spent his time in a persistent attempt to be friendly with the French people. He invited them to his house, and in all ways made himself agreeable. When Parliament met, his speech was most conciliatory in tone. He made larger concessions than any governor had ever made before. He proposed that the control of all revenues should be given to the Legislature with but one proviso, that the Assembly should guarantee the Civil List and order the repayment of £81,000, which had been advanced from the military chest. This conciliatory and gracious speech fell upon deaf ears, or, worse yet, confirmed the impression of weakness, which, as we have already seen, British governors made upon the dominant party in Quebec. Papineau and his ilk were bound to revolt, and this only helped them along. In the reply to this address they ignored absolutely the appointment of the commissioners, and passed a vote, making Roebuck their agent in London, and also passed more resolutions of grievances. Gosford took this snub most humbly. He resented it not at all, but continued in his conciliatory policy, which any one could have told him was a mistake. It is useless to follow the progress of the events in Parliament during that winter. The French element steadily grew in assurance and boldness, and by the time February came they were getting ready to throw off their mask and demand the impossible. They were helped along in their attitude by some members of the Imperial Parliament. These English sympathizers were Sir William Molesworth and David Hume, who expressed their opinions in Par-

Tries conciliation and is snubbed

The French party grows in assurance

The Supply Bill rejected

liament that the French in Lower Canada were a persecuted and down-trodden class of people, and were struggling only for liberty. More and more defiant resolutions were passed by the Assembly, and the Supply Bill was rejected. Gosford prorogued Parliament on March 21st with absolutely nothing to show for the session in his favor.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE PAPINEAU REBELLION

DURING the interval between Parliaments the French kept up their propaganda, scattering the seed of insurrection into every hamlet and parish of the colony. Parliament met again, September 2d. This time the Governor made no mistake of being too conciliatory in his address. He was plain and blunt. Nothing was done by this Parliament except to follow the old program of defiance and refusal to accede to peace. One of the demands of the Assembly had been that the Legislative Council should be made elective. No response to this appeal had yet been made public, for the Government did not wish to give out a flat denial; but unfortunately the same request had been made by the Assembly of Upper Canada and the Governor of that colony, Sir Francis Head, had informed the Assembly that the British Government had rejected their appeal. The news of this came to Lower Canada, and merely added fuel to the flame. Gosford blamed Head severely for this disclosure, but it is a question whether it was a serious addition to the sum-total of French dissatisfaction. Every circumstance in these days, however, was seized by Papineau to increase the force of his indictment against the British Government — somewhat as the American revolutionary

More rejections from London

Fuel added to the flame

fathers scraped and raked every particle of fact and appearance of fact they could lay their hands on when writing the Declaration of Independence.

Gosford prorogues Parliament

Gosford was soon convinced that it was impossible to do any business with this Assembly, and he prorogued Parliament again on October 5th. By this time the British were getting aroused. It might have been better perhaps if they had kept more quiet. It was only natural that, seeing the French organize, they too should organize, and a number of associations were formed by them for the purpose of strengthening the British cause. A short time after the prorogation of Parliament, Sir Charles Grey and Sir George Gipps, the two other commissioners, returned to England and submitted their report with Gosford's approval. It was in effect a call for immediate action by the British authorities, if they wished to keep Canada British. Resolutions in conformity with these recommendations were introduced into the Imperial House of Commons, and adopted by an overwhelming majority. These resolutions declared that the Legislative Council should remain appointive, and gave authority for the Government at Quebec to take the necessary means to secure order in the colony. When the news reached Quebec, Papineau and his party became furious. They could see now that they had gone too far, that the British lion had been wrought up and was no longer slinking away, but ready for a fight. In desperation they resolved to carry through their point by holding meetings in all parts of the colony and exciting the people to insurrection. On all sides, in every hamlet *"Vive Papineau! Vive la Liberté,"* and the dream of *"La*

Commissioners report great unrest, and Imperial Parliament acts

Papineau furious and bent on rebellion

nation Canadienne" came into popular vision. These meetings, of course, led the British to hold similar gatherings, and clashes were inevitable.

Gosford prorogues Parliament after an eight days' session, Aug. 26, 1837

During the summer of 1837 William IV died and Victoria came to the throne. This necessitated an election in Canada as elsewhere, and Parliament met in session on August 18th. Under instructions from the Government, Gosford made a pleasant speech, advising peace, and giving generally good counsel. But the Assembly was warlike in tone, and refused to vote a Supply Bill or to take any other necessary steps, and so in eight days, or on August 26th, the Parliament was prorogued. Thus what proved to be the last Parliament of Lower Canada closed with only eight days' session, and closed too with the feeling on all sides that it would be the last, but whether the next Parliament would be British or Canadian or American was a subject of endless speculation. This prorogation, naturally, irritated the French element, and they began to turn their organizations, called "Patriots," into military form. Everywhere one heard talk of the "Northwest Republic of Lower Canada," and everywhere could be seen bodies of men drilling on British soil, preparing to tear down the British flag.

Rebellion now rising

Gosford by this time saw that the insurrection was inevitable, and he wrote to the Colonial Secretary that he feared it would be necessary to suspend the Constitution. The British authorities were loath to take such a radical step at this time. In the first place, there had been no overt act of rebellion, and in the second place it was just at the beginning of the reign, and they did not wish it

to start with any apparently tyrannous act on the part of the sovereign. But they did exercise some prevision by ordering Sir John Colborne to Quebec to take command of the military force of the colony. Colborne had just ended his term as Governor of Upper Canada, and was on his way back to England when the messenger reached him at New York, commanding him to remain in Canada. There was very little encouragement for a military man in the situation. Of the imperial force in Lower Canada only about 2,000 soldiers were in the garrison of Quebec, and all the implements of war there were rusted and out of date. Autumn came on with the crisis drawing every day nearer. Papineau was working overtime, as one might suppose, and so were his followers. He was assisted by Wolfred Nelson, an Englishman, who out-Papineaued Papineau in his attacks on the British authorities. By this time the Roman Catholic Church's inactivity ceased, and it began to exercise its strong influence against sedition. This only infuriated Papineau the more, and he defied the Church and led many of the people with him. About this time an unhappy circumstance, relating to the government of Montreal, occurred. The act of incorporation of Montreal was only for a limited term; that term had expired, and the act had not been renewed. Thus the largest city in Canada was without any government. The Papineau factionists took advantage of this opportunity, and paraded the streets in mobs, shouting defiance to Great Britain and venting forth their revolutionary doctrines in song and speech.

Colborne takes command of military

Dr. Nelson aids Papineau

Montreal then, as now, contained a strong Brit-

LOUIS J. PAPINEAU
1789-1871

Speaker of the Assembly of Lower Canada, 1815-1837

The first clash was at Montreal, Nov. 6

ish minority, and it was very plain that speedily a clash between the two races would occur. On November 6th it came. A small party of Englishmen were attacked by the Sons of Liberty, the French organization, led by an American named Thomas Storrow Brown. Several pistol shots were fired, and the Loyalists were driven off. Soon they were reenforced and returned, but by this time the Sons of Liberty had disappeared. The British ransacked the house where the Sons met, found some guns, and turned them over to the police. They then went to the office of the French newspaper, the "Vindicator," and threw its press and type out on the street.

The Governor-General at once ordered a provisional government for Montreal, and a number of magistrates were dismissed. The habitants on the Richelieu River began arming themselves, and every one could see that the movement had really begun. Sir John Colborne moved his headquarters to Montreal, taking with him most of the troops from Quebec, while Upper Canada sent offers of assistance.

Papineau and aids disappear

There was no more talk of conciliation now. The British had made up their mind to resort to drastic measures. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Papineau, Brown, O'Callaghan of the "Vindicator," and several others. These three men thought discretion the better part of valor, and, instead of remaining in Montreal to face the music or become martyrs, disappeared and began to foment the insurrection in the interior of the Province.

Colborne, about the 16th of November, sent a small body of volunteer cavalry to St. Johns and

captured some rebels there. After securing these culprits, and while returning, they were attacked by a large body of habitants and compelled to retreat, losing their prisoners. The first advantage was thus gained by the rebels, and they exulted uproariously in their success. In fact, they assumed that their fight was won. All along the Richelieu, especially at St. Denis, where Dr. Nelson lived, formidable rebel camps were organized. St. Denis was very plainly a place which must be destroyed, so Colborne sent Colonel Gore with 200 infantry and some volunteer cavalry and three guns to attack it, while Colonel Wetheral was to take St. Charles, seven miles away. When Gore reached St. Denis, on November 23d, after a night's march through the slush and snow, he found about 500 habitants posted in a few houses in that town, and in command of them were the three leaders, Papineau, Nelson, and O'Callaghan. Nelson was a brave man, and stuck to his guns, but Papineau and O'Callaghan lost their nerve, and, before any fighting began, took to their heels and deserted their followers. They stopped at St. Hyacinthe for a while, but soon pushed on to the United States, where they supposed they would be received with great favor and find many recruits.

Fighting at St. Johns and other villages

Gore soon saw that his task in capturing the chief house (it had many windows which served as loopholes) was not an easy one. He had no heavy guns, and his small ones and rifles made no impression upon the house. Meanwhile, he had lost six men, including an officer, and at length decided to retire. The insurgents had captured Lieutenant Weir, who had been deputed by Colonel Gore to take despatches

British forced to retire

Lieutenant Weir murdered

to Wetheral. Weir was treated with great brutality, and when he attempted to escape was killed in a shocking manner. This was another success for the rebels, and they waxed vainglorious in their boasting. But it was their last triumph. Wetheral, who was to be reenforced by Gore in his attack on St. Charles, did not need the assistance. He learned of Gore's defeat on the way, but pressed on. It was the American, Brown, who was in command here, and although he put on a brave front, when the fighting began he deserted his men, leaving the 1,000 to take care of themselves. The intrenchment behind which they were stationed was a flimsy affair, and was soon knocked to pieces. Furious with anger and desire for vengeance because of Weir's murder, the troops gave no quarter and killed fifty-six men and burned many others in their houses. The news of this affair at St. Charles reached St. Denis and emboldened Gore to return to the attack of that place, only to find it abandoned. A few days later, on December 5th, martial law was proclaimed in the district of Montreal. Large rewards were offered for the capture of Papineau and the others. It was plain that the British meant business, and when, a few days later, some American sympathizers from Vermont, which it seems in those days could be called upon to supply sympathy and support for any sort of movement, invaded the colony, they were promptly dispersed. The jails of Montreal were soon filled with rebels, including Wolfred Nelson. This Englishman, after his flight from St. Denis, had had a most interesting experience swimming rivers, sleeping in the snow, begging at farmhouses and leading the life of a refugee, so

Rebels badly beaten at St. Charles

Montreal under martial law

Dr. Nelson captured and jailed

different from the triumph which he had foolishly anticipated. Singularly enough, there was no trouble at Quebec. The habitants there were awed by the garrison and by the volunteer battalion which was organized immediately.

British burn St. Eustache church

In another quarter, St. Eustache, nine miles northwest of Montreal, was a centre of disaffection. The habitants were organized in military companies and had driven the Loyalists to seek safety by flight in Montreal. Colborne himself led 2,000 men against St. Eustache, where he found the insurgents posted in a large church. This church was promptly attacked, the barricade which protected it was broken down, the church itself was destroyed and burned along with about sixty other buildings. Some of the habitants were burned to death, and their entire loss was more than 100 killed. Their leader, Amory Girod, was as brave as Papineau, and deserted them promptly, committing suicide a few days later. This attack was a picturesque affair, and the British were reproached a long time for the burning of the church, although why they should be blamed for it, when the insurgents had taken refuge there, is hard to understand.

The insurrection quelled

The insurrection in the neighboring villages was also quelled. The only other contest took place on the last day of February, when 600 refugees under a brother of Wolfred Nelson recrossed the border from the United States and were met by the militia. They at once went back to the United States and were compelled to surrender by General Wool, the American commander at Plattsburg.

This was the end of the highly idealized and long dreamt of *"Nation Canadienne."* It was a failure

The insurrection a miserable failure

before it started. Bishop Lartigue of Montreal in the autumn had issued a mandement, enjoining upon his people, in this seat of rebellion, loyalty to the Government and hostility to the rebels. His second order, issued January 8, 1838, was a rebuke to those few habitants who had followed Papineau and his party and enjoined the people to remain faithful. So it was that out of the half million French residents of Lower Canada only 2,000 to 3,000 gathered in support of the rebellion. It was about as miserable a failure as history can show. The authorities, as we have said, had the jails full of political prisoners. These were allowed, after the rebellion was crushed, to go scot free in most cases, and consequently suffered no punishment for their crimes. Lord Gosford, who had asked to be recalled before the rebellion took place, was now permitted to retire, turning over the administration to Colborne. Gosford had clearly shown his incapacity and failure to grasp the situation.

Lord Gosford permitted to retire

CHAPTER XLV

THE UPRISING IN UPPER CANADA

THE Canadian situation, in the eyes of Great Britain, was desperate and disgusting. Not only had the French Province seen a revolt, but, while that was going on, insurrection had broken out in Upper Canada. "A plague on both your houses" Great Britain felt like saying. It was a peculiar and most irritating concentration of troubles in British America. As already stated in the previous chapter, Great Britain was herself involved in titanic popular struggles; and these were indeed only features of a movement of unrest from which scarcely a nation in the world was free. Let us see how Upper Canada got into its difficulties. Revolt and insurrection

The progress of this Province, since the last attention we have given it specifically, had been not so tempestuous, but almost as interesting as that of Lower Canada. It is significant that during the same time in which Lower Canada was being vexed by rebellion, Upper Canada was also practically involved in civil strife, although not so serious as the other. It is plain that a spirit of mutiny was in the air, for, while it was a race question in Lower Canada, it was an entirely different thing in the Upper Province. One who has been reading this history of Lower Canada would assume that the Mutiny in the air

other colony would be free from all civil disturbance. Where were only people of British descent, it would seem that "brethren ought to dwell together in unity," but, as the world knows, the English people are not overfond of harmony; even if they all thought alike in one country or province, they would not be found acting alike or pretending to think alike. One can keep on making contrasts between these two colonies until it is wearisome, and yet all such contrasts might be true and apropos.

The War of 1812 as a cause of unrest

But, undoubtedly, one distinctive local reason for discontent in the one Province, which might have operated to allay it in the other, was the war of 1812. A war always brings about a great access of militant patriotism to any section. It had that effect on Upper Canada, where there was already a sufficient amount of patriotism. Had Lower Canada been involved in war, as it was not to any considerable extent during the contest with the United States, the result would have been highly advantageous to the connection between Quebec and the mother country. But the war had little effect on the French Province, and it continued to cherish those animosities and prejudices, which, as we have seen, resulted in the absurd but at the same time serious Papineau rebellion. The war was waged in Upper Canada, and its results were clear. It increased the Province's feeling of dependence upon itself; in other words, independence of Great Britain. Not political independence, but material independence. As we have noted, the people who came out best, or least poorly, in the war of 1812 were the Canadians, and most of these from the upper Province. Feeling this sentiment of pride in their own achievements,

Material independence

and in their own Province, the people were somewhat restless as to any special limitations or repressions which the Imperial Government might lay upon them. Then, too, the Province had been full of money during the war, and when it suddenly ceased the money supply was cut off, and the necessity of hoarding it irritated many of the people who had cheerfully practised economy before the war. Some of the population wanted to continue in military life, which was impossible, and there was complaint against the Government for not having fulfilled its promise in regard to land grants made some time previous. This was the period when the Government ought to have been helpful and conciliatory. There is no doubt that if London had treated Upper Canada as well as it did the Lower Province, if it had been as conciliatory toward the English as it was to the French, the result would have been very different in what is now Ontario. The Government, for example, forbade the immigration of people from the United States to Canada. That looks very peculiar in these days of the twentieth century when Canada is bending all her efforts to secure American settlers in the Canadian Northwest. Not only that, but those Americans who were already in Canada were forbidden to become naturalized. This regulation had no particular effect in Lower Canada because there were very few Americans there, but in the Upper Province there was a large American population, and as it was settled near the populous American States, the necessity of preserving good-will between the two peoples was apparent. The people of that Province cherished no ill-will toward the Americans as such,

Difficult to become economical again

Forbidding American settlers was unpopular

and would have been glad to welcome them as citizens. The purpose of this prohibitory regulation was, of course, to keep the Americans out of Canada, and it was popular in Lower Canada because the French there did not want anybody to come into the Province, for they thought they owned it all themselves; and the desire of the British Government to secure British immigrants for Canada was for the same reason unpopular with the French element. Even in Upper Canada, where the new immigrants were welcomed, it was soon seen that their numbers were so small as to be of very little value to the Province. On that account the people of Upper Canada felt that this prohibition of the Americans in favor of the British was a mistake. This feeling found voice in the second Parliament which assembled after the war, that is, on February 4, 1817. Among the resolutions adopted by the Assembly was one protesting against the stopping of immigration from the United States. This action, taken in connection with two other reasons, was the alleged justification of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, then administrator, in proroguing Parliament. His conduct encountered severe criticism, and deserved it. The whole Province felt that the Assembly had been treated with something akin to contempt, and this spirit, added to the general dissatisfaction explained above, caused a considerable amount of angry feeling against the Government. It was plain that Gore would not allow the Government to be criticized in any way, and this only increased the resentment.

Upper Canadian Parliament protests and is prorogued

General dissatisfaction

SIR THOMAS GEORGE SHAUGHNESSY

THE FAMOUS ROBERT GOURLAY

A romantic career

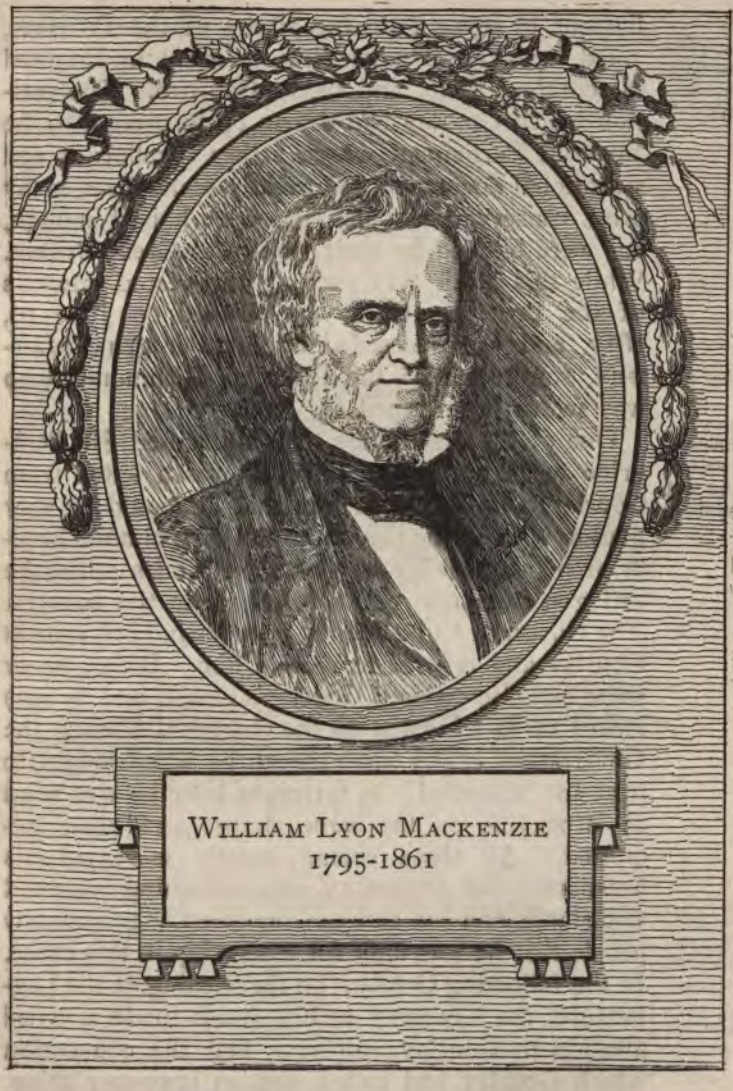
IT was while this sentiment was rife in the Province that another element of disturbance came into it. This was the famous Robert Fleming Gourlay, whose career reads very like a romance; an unpleasant romance, but a romance nevertheless. Gourlay was descended from a Scottish family of excellent ancestry and considerable wealth. His father had lost his property and become bankrupt, and, in attempting to redress his father's loss, Gourlay became involved in financial difficulties and thought it best to leave Scotland. From the first Gourlay impressed the people with being honest and able, but eccentric and irresponsible. He had not been in Canada very long before he became a land agent, securing immigrants from the old country and building up a business of considerable promise. In order to do this, he thought best to obtain some thorough knowledge by inquiry of the conditions of the people. So he used a form of circular which he sent around to representative people in every one of the townships of the Province. This was certainly an innocent enough way of proceeding, but it was unusual and unprecedented, and anything of that sort was sure to encounter stupid and even hostile opposition. One of these questions, the thirty-first and last, looks innocuous enough to us, but to the suspicious members of the Government it was fraught with sedition and conspiracy. This question was: "What in your opinion retards the improvement of your township in particular or of the Province in general, and what would most contribute to the same?" There was absolutely no reason why this

An innocent circular makes trouble for Gourlay

"The Family Compact"

question should have excited the resentment of any honest man, nor did it. Upper Canada was then ruled by an oligarchy of U. E. L., mostly interrelated, called "The Family Compact." Various persons had obtained privileges and land grants purely by reason of friendship with this factor, and without having done anything to earn such privileges. They were sensitive in regard to any investigation, for they knew that investigation, if conducted honestly, would rob them of their plums. So they made a great hullabaloo and succeeded in preventing most of those who received Gourlay's circular from answering that question. Mr. Gourlay was not the sort of person to be frightened by such tactics. He thrived on controversy, and fairly leaped at the chance to secure notoriety for himself. He wrote letters to the newspapers protesting against the opposition which his scheme was having from the favored few, and in a short time worked up a sentiment in his favor. This was undoubtedly the basis of the resolution of inquiry which was introduced in the Legislature of 1818, the next year. How sensitive the Government was on this affair can be seen from its action when shortly after the introduction of this inquiry the Governor took advantage of the situation to prorogue the House, although a large amount of business was on the calendar. This naturally furnished more ammunition for Mr. Gourlay, and he concocted a scheme of a convention to meet at York to which delegates should be sent from the various townships in order to state their grievanes, particularly regarding land. This convention met during the summer, decided to present a petition to Par-

Governor again prorogues the House



WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE
1795-1861

Sir Peregrine Maitland Governor, 1818

liament to investigate the affairs of the Province, voted in favor of employing an agent in England to represent them, and then adjourned. The petition which Gourlay had drawn up to present to the Imperial Parliament was a rather flamboyant and sensational document, and greatly scandalized many prim, conservative souls, who were honest enough, but were blinded by their loyalty to Great Britain. While this affair was exciting the vested interests of the Province, Gore was recalled on June 19, 1817, and was succeeded by Sir Peregrine Maitland, son-in-law of the Duke of Richmond, who was sworn in on April 13, 1818.

Gourlay arrested, tried, and acquitted

One of the first things that confronted Sir Peregrine when he arrived in York was a letter from Gourlay, who informed him that he would be very glad to wait on the Governor and give him the benefit of his knowledge of Canadian affairs which he had got from one year's residence in the country. The Governor had evidently been prejudiced against Gourlay and refused to receive him. Either he or some one else ordered Gourlay's arrest, and he was locked up in Kingston on the charge of libeling the Government. The same month he was brought to trial and acquitted. A fortnight later he was tried at Brockville on the same charge and again acquitted. All these events greatly increased his popularity, but prosperity was something he could not stand, and his actions convinced a good many people that he was unfit for leadership in this cause. In the following October, on the opening of the Legislature, the Governor in his speech made a veiled allusion to Gourlay, implying that the convention which Gourlay had called was an improper thing,

and was meant to take the place of the Legislature. The very name "convention" offended many sensitive U. E. L. because it was a term used only in the United States. The Legislature, feeling their prerogative was trampled upon, determined to assert their dignity, and passed a vote, with practical unanimity, forbidding "certain meetings within this Province." This was raising Gourlay into the high position of a live issue, and was destined to make him very famous; but unfortunately, as we have said before, he was not able to stand this prosperity, behaving himself with indiscretion. Then, too, the very fact that the Legislature had taken such action against him persuaded a great many people that he was really a dangerous character, so, instead of helping him, these attacks really injured him and prepared the people for an animus against him. After Parliament was prorogued, Gourlay had written attacks on the Government, including some doggerel which he called: "Gagged! Gagged, by jingo!" Undoubtedly for the production of such a literary crime he ought to have been punished, but in the sentiment there was nothing seditious. However, he was arrested and held prisoner some time before he was bailed out. On December 21st he was again arrested under provisions of the Alien Act of 1804, authorizing the arrest of any inhabitant of the Province for six months who had not taken the oath of allegiance. It was also charged against him that he was an evil-minded, seditious person. No doubt he was outrageously treated. He had as much right to be in that Province as any one, and yet he was ordered to leave the country before the new year. He dis-

The Legislature offended by Gourlay

"Gagged! Gagged, by jingo!"

Gourlay, arrested, outrageously treated and banished, 1819

obeyed and was again sent to prison, where he remained over six months, so long that when he was brought up for trial he was plainly broken down and in a painful mental condition. When he made an attempt to speak, he burst into a maniacal laugh. In spite of his condition, the Chief Justice of the Province, Powell, pronounced sentence upon him that he must leave the Province within twenty-four hours. On the following day Gourlay left Canada, and after a short stay in New York he sailed for Liverpool.

Gourlay's restless after-career

All the after history of this unfortunate wretch has very little connection with Canadian affairs, but is too interesting to omit. He was only forty-one years of age at the time of the trial, and he lived to be eighty-four. Throughout the rest of his life he was embroiled in troubles. He was always in debt, and constantly on the move. He returned from England and settled for a while in Ohio, and afterward went back to England again. In 1841 the Province tried to right the wrong it had done him by passing a vote that his arrest was illegal and unconstitutional. In 1856 a pension of fifty pounds was granted him. He refused to take it, demanding a declaration from the Governor that his sentence was illegal and should be expunged from the records of the court, but this was refused. He lived in Canada for a while, and in 1860 tried to secure election to the House of Assembly, but failed. At the age of eighty he married a woman of about thirty, and soon, of course, they separated,

Dies in Scotland

and he returned to Scotland, where he died in 1862 in his eighty-fifth year. Two years later his two surviving daughters asked to have his pension paid

them, and it was turned over to them in a lump sum. There are few more interesting careers than that of Robert Gourlay.

THE CLERGY RESERVES AGAIN

Dr. Strachan a member of the Executive Council

THE treatment which Mr. Gourlay had received at hands of the Governor did not increase the latter's popularity, which was small enough at the best, and it made a basis for future agitation which grew into something formidable, as we shall see. A few years later, the Legislative Council received as a new member Bishop Strachan of the Anglican Church. The fact that a clergyman and a bishop would take such a position as this was indicative of his politics, and of the value he would be to the ruling power. We already know of Rev. Dr. Strachan at York, in 1813, when he severely criticized the American army which had burned the Provincial capital. The mistake involved in the promotion of this cleric to a seat in the Legislative Council was very apparent, when we come to consider that one of the chief matters before the people of the Province was that of the clergy reserves, land which had been set apart for the support of the clergy in the early days of the Province. By the Constitutional Act in 1791, one-seventh of the ungranted land in the Province was to be used for the maintenance of Protestant clergy alone. Protestant was interpreted to be synonymous with Anglican. In other words, the Presbyterians and the other sects received no Government support. In 1819, however, other denominations put in their claims for a share of the revenues from this land. This was just about the time that Dr. Strachan be-

"Protestant" interpreted as "Anglican"

came a member of the Council, and he at once opposed giving up any of the support which his church had been receiving from these lands. He was thus able to keep this odd arrangement in effect for a number of years beyond the time it would have otherwise been settled. The popular discontent was growing all this time by reason of these privileges, but so far the Government was able to hold the majority of the Assembly on its side, and the Governor did not believe that this prestige was in any way threatened. The country was steadily growing in population, and now consisted of about 150,000 people. This was small, of course, beside the one-half million of Lower Canada; but it was being added to constantly, although slowly, by immigration, and the time was not far distant, all believed, when the discrepancy between the two Provinces would cease.

The country growing steadily

MACKENZIE'S APPEARANCE IN AFFAIRS

Mackenzie attacks the Family Compact

It was in the election of 1824 that a new force was introduced into Canadian affairs, which was destined to contribute much to the growth of the mutinous sentiment. This force was William Lyon Mackenzie. He had been in Canada only since 1820, coming from Scotland, and in 1824 had become editor of a newspaper called the "Colonial Advocate," published at Queenston. He was a fearless Scotchman, and did not hesitate to criticize Governor Maitland as a tool of the Family Compact. He soon removed his paper to York, and, thus settled in the capital of the Province, he turned his batteries upon the Governor and the other members of the Family Compact. But conducting this sort of a

campaign in an U. E. L. city like York was not the easiest way to make money, and the paper was practically on its last legs when a boomerang brought it back to life. This boomerang consisted of the action of a lot of hotspurs of York one night in June, 1826, when Mackenzie was out of the city, in breaking into his office and destroying the press and throwing the type into the street. On Mackenzie's return he found out the names of the parties, sued them for damages, and received an award of over $3,000, which enabled him to set up his paper again and resume business on a much larger scale, and with much more public sympathy.

His newspaper plant destroyed

Indeed, from this moment, Mackenzie began to be a power in the affairs of the Province. About the same time the Reform Party, so called in opposing the aggressions of the Family Compact, was seen to be growing in power and in influence, and in the session of 1826 it had a majority in the Assembly. Very little, however, was done by this Reform Assembly, and it did not create a very good impression. Yet the reaction in Mackenzie's favor, which followed the destruction of his printing office, was apparent when the Assembly met a short time after that event occurred. For the first time the Assembly criticized the conduct of the Governor, though in a mild way. It was a straw, however, that showed the direction of the wind. A number of inconsistent things took place contemporaneously, including the passage of a naturalization act, which was very strict and almost prohibitive, and to which royal assent was refused. Then there was the continued discussion over the exclusive claims of the Church of England to the clergy re-

The Assembly criticizes the Governor

Mr. Forsythe's hotel

serves, which the Presbyterians challenged. A petty thing, which excited considerable interest and had some influence in the somewhat restless condition of public sentiment at that time, was the act of a Mr. Forsythe, who owned a hotel at Niagara Falls, and who built upon public land in such a way as to prevent any one's having a certain view of the Falls except through Forsythe's hotel. There were violent scenes; the military was brought out to oust Forsythe, and the matter was finally brought up to London, which decided that the Governor had the right to oust Forsythe, but that he ought not to have done it the way he did. This Forsythe case continued to excite the attention of the next Assembly. This Assembly passed a naturalization bill, which was liberal and which was assented to by the King. Harassing events, however, continued, and the temper of the people was more and more aroused to resentment against the tyrannical acts of the ruling party. So strong had this sentiment grown that the next Assembly was also strongly reform in its opposition, and among those elected to it was Mackenzie from the County of York. All of these perplexing or irritating affairs, including lack of harmony in the Province, justified the London Government in sending Maitland to another post, the Governorship of Nova Scotia.

Sir John Colborne as Governor

He was succeeded at York in November, 1828, by Sir John Colborne. It was difficult to know whether Colborne was to be a Liberal or not. His answer to the address of the House could be read both ways, but he had soon to make a decision, for Mackenzie at once began to agitate for reforms, including

the clergy reserves. However, no open conflict came between the two parties, but the restlessness of public sentiment was shown by the presentation of a petition to the British House of Commons from 3,110 inhabitants of York, asking that the judges be appointed for life without reference to the favor of the Governor. It is said that in this petition was used for the first time the expression "Responsible government," which has become justly one of the proudest boasts of the Canadian system. As if to emphasize the necessity of a complete absence of partizanship in the choice of judges, there came a few months later the appointment of Attorney-General John Beverly Robinson as Chief Justice of the Province. Robinson was an able man, but he was probably the leading spirit in the Family Compact. To succeed him in the Assembly, Robert Baldwin was elected from York. This was the first entrance into politics of one of the best men in the history of the country, one whose liberal and yet conservative and sensible ideas were to constitute a leaven in the affairs of the Assembly during the tumultuous times ahead of it.

First use of the phrase "Responsible government"

On the 30th of November of this year, 1829, the Welland Canal was formally opened. Canada is rightfully proud of this achievement, which was carried through at a time when the Province was poor and when it required considerable pluck and confidence in the future to make it a success.

The Welland Canal opened, 1829

Now came a peculiar shift in the politics of the Province. The reform movement, which had shown such great strength up to this time, was now apparently losing in force—not perhaps losing the confidence of the people as compared with the Family

The new force in politics

Compact, but losing because of a new element. Another power was growing up in the Province, furnished largely by the immigrants which had come into it during the previous ten or fifteen years from the British Isles. These new immigrants were decidedly opposed to the Family Compact. They were just as vigorously opposed to the disloyal spirit which seemed to pervade the urgings and suggestions of some of the reformers. They were most loyal to the Crown, but they regarded as intolerable the assumption that any little oligarchy such as the Family Compact could rule the Province. So it will be seen that from this time on really three parties came into being from this Province: the old Tories, the Reformers, and those who afterward became Conservatives. The first showing of this new force came out in the election of 1830, when, much to their surprise, the Reformers lost control of the Assembly. This result was highly gratifying to the Family Compact until they found that they had really gained nothing at all. Mackenzie, too, soon learned that he had lost his grip on affairs. He could no longer lead the House, but he was able to make things very uncomfortable for the Tories. He showed that the basis for representation in the Province was wholly unjust now, although it might have been proper when the lines were drawn. He declared very strongly in favor of redistribution, and so strong an appeal did he make for justice that the committee which he proposed was ordered, and he was allowed to name its members. This was very distressing to our old friends, the Family Compact, and they tried to make trouble for Mackenzie in all sorts of ways. However, he was not

Reformers lose control

to be bullied, and he even held a series of public meetings in some of the former strongholds of the opposition. He secured the signing in York of a monster petition for responsible government, which was presented to the King. It contained 25,000 signatures, an astonishing number in that small Province.[1]

Mackenzie circulates a petition for responsible government

MACKENZIE ELECTED AND EXPELLED MANY TIMES

THE Family Compact leaders redoubled their efforts to catch Mackenzie at fault, and because of an article in his paper, the "Colonial Advocate," which criticized the House for not treating his petitions with sufficient consideration, he was brought to trial before the House for libel. He was called by the Attorney-General "a reptile," and by another prosecutor "a spaniel dog," and he was declared guilty and expelled from the House. So malicious was the action of the Government in this affair that it reacted in Mackenzie's favor, as the destruction of his printing office had done, and it was soon evident that he had the people on his side. The streets were filled with angry mobs that day paying tribute to Mackenzie at his house, hooting at the Parliament House and at the members of the Family Compact. But even if his enemies had expelled Mackenzie, they could not keep him out of Parliament altogether, and when a new writ of election was issued for the County of York, he received every vote but one, and the election was the occasion of a popular demonstration in his honor, which clearly showed the strength of popular sympathy. There was con-

Brought to trial for libel and becomes more popular

Received every vote but one

[1] It is only fair to add that a counter petition with 26,000 names was presented about the same time.

siderable opposition to his being admitted even then, and, after his admission, his enemies found new grounds upon which to charge him with libel, and he was expelled again. The popular uproar at these actions increased, and public meetings were held in all parts of the Province, protesting against such treatment. Again was Mackenzie elected for the County of York by an immense majority. The Family Compact Party was beginning to weaken, and it was plain that he could enter the Assembly and have no difficulty in holding his seat; but he chose to take a new tack, for he was directed by a large meeting in York to go to England and present the petitions of his people to the King. It was a most propitious time for his arrival in England on this mission. The Peel Government was in power, the reform bill had been passed, and the temper of the times was strongly against any oligarchy whatever. It was a poor Liberal Party in any British dominion that could not obtain the sympathy and support of the Government at that time. But in spite of this attitude of the home Government, which was clearly shown not only by its cordial treatment of Mackenzie, but by the action in admitting the Church of Scotland in Canada to have a right to share in the clergy reserve lands, the Tories in York were not moved. They expelled Mackenzie for a third time, although he was in England while they were in session, but when he got back he was elected again, and two other times in addition after subsequent expulsions.

Mackenzie takes his petition to London

The cholera, 1833

Political affairs, however, during that summer of 1833 were not very exciting, particularly because Mackenzie was in England, but more particularly

because of the coming of Asiatic cholera, which became a terrible scourge in the cities and hamlets of Lower and Upper Canada. This arrival of the cholera for the first time is a marked date in Canadian history. After Mackenzie returned from London and was elected and reelected, the home Government conveyed to the Provincial authorities their disapproval of their attitude toward him. Consequently after this he was allowed to retain his seat.

Reformers carry the Assembly

The political campaign of 1834 was the most exciting that the Province had known for many years and in spite of the Family Compact Party and the Conservatives, the Reform Party was able to carry the House by a majority of ten. Mackenzie, of course, was elected and Bidwell was made Speaker of the Assembly. This was undoubtedly the signal for the final overthrow of the Family Compact. In the year 1834 York was incorporated as a city and renamed Toronto, its original name. Mackenzie was chosen its first mayor. The first session of this Parliament was distinguished for a famous "Seventh Report on Grievances," which Mackenzie wrote as chairman of the Committee on Grievances. It was a document which contained most of the charges and real injustices from which the Province was suffering. The document was by no means an incendiary one, for it was couched in respectful terms. Its main demand was for executive responsibility to the people. It protested against the too frequent use by the executive of criminal prosecutions for libel which in many cases amounted to a muzzled press. He declared the judges were not independent. He dwelt on the corrupt use of patronage by the Crown's officers, and demanded a protective

York becomes Toronto, Mackenzie its first mayor, 1834

"Seventh Report on Grievances"

Chief demand is for responsible government

tariff for the Province. The document is a long one and the grievances are many, but they may be boiled down to a protest against the King's setting over the people an officer amenable only to London and without knowledge of or concern in the welfare and desires of the people. In other words, it was a demand for Responsible Government. Yet with all this demand for principles we must believe a large personal element entered in. Undoubtedly the bitterness of this struggle was due largely to the arrogant offensiveness of the members of the Family Compact in their dealings with the people. This fact must not be lost to view. If Mackenzie and his followers had continued in that spirit, the end would not have been so disastrous. The Family Compact, as we have seen clearly from the handwriting on the wall, and the clerical branch of it, determined to reserve for itself something while there was yet time. So, led by the famous Dr. Strachan, they succeeded in procuring from the Governor a document establishing forty-four rectories, each with 400 acres of land, to which were assigned clergymen of the Church of England, who once established could not be removed. These documents, so called, were signed by Colborne, January 5, 1836, just before the arrival of his successor. An attempt was made to overthrow them, but they were sustained by the highest courts. They virtually established the Church of England in Upper Canada.

The Church of England virtually established

Colborne retires, 1836

Colborne and Dr. Strachan were severely criticized for this action, as it was regarded as a trick, but it was defended by their friends, on the ground that some such authorization had been made by

the sovereign four years previous. The tempestuous condition of the Province, which had not been improved under Sir John Colborne, and especially the report on grievances, led him to offer his resignation; so in January, 1836, he retired, and Sir Francis Bond Head succeeded him.

SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD'S STORMY RULE

His poor equipment

A VERY wide difference of opinion prevails among Canadian writers regarding Head. There was a report that his appointment was a mistake, that the Government had intended to appoint Edmund Head, who was afterward Governor-General of Canada. At any rate, the only claims to distinction which Sir Francis had were that he had had some experience in the army as a "consequential" officer, and had written a book or two, though of no particular value. Very little was known about his political opinions, but through some English sources, probably Hume, Mackenzie received intimation that the new Governor would be friendly to his party, so when he arrived in Toronto he found the walls placarded with large letters designating him "Sir Francis Head, Tried Reformer." The only knowledge that he had had of Canadian affairs was through reading the "Seventh Report," which we have already mentioned, and through an official conversation which he had with Lord Glenelg just previous to his departure. But having come with the prestige of Reformer, he was admitted into the counsels of the Reformers to a larger extent than he would have been had they not thought his sympathy was with them. Among these most prominent were Bidwell and Mackenzie. They informed him that

Reformers expect much from him

they did not intend to lead an insurrection, which was a gratuitous piece of information and made him suspicious that they intended that very thing. In order to gain their confidence he pretended considerable sympathy with their aims, and got the impression pretty definitely from them that they expected to go very much farther than they had publicly declared. Head made the mistake of assuming that these two men voiced the sentiments of the majority of their party, and he did not take pains to become acquainted with its more level-headed members. He evidently had made up his mind to continue for a time his pro-reform attitude, and see what the Reform Party's developments might be. His speech to the Assembly was an amusing and perplexing one. It was followed by another act which was as perplexing. He nominated for membership in the Executive Council, from which three men had been dismissed, three Reformers, Robert Baldwin, John Rolfe, and John Henry Dunn. They were not willing to take office unless the three other members of the Council, who were Tories, were replaced by Liberals, but this Sir Francis refused to do, evidently believing that it would be better if neither side had a majority in the Council. At any rate, after a while the three Reformers accepted the position, but they were not in it very long before the Governor began to appoint some members of the Family Compact to various positions. This caused great resentment on their part, and practically the entire Council resigned.

Head's mistake

He names reformers for his Executive Council but they resign

Exactly what the Governor gained by this see-sawing it is impossible to say. Such vacillation was absolutely unknown in that Province and politi-

cal excitement grew tenser every day. Both sides in the Assembly were irritated by his action, and a resolution was passed with practical unanimity by the Assembly censuring the Governor for insulting his Council. The Governor, however, showed himself to be an astute political manager, considering the fact that he had had no experience in politics whatever. He went on the stump, we might say, and attacked Mackenzie at public meetings, and by his vigor and organization actually succeeded in creating a public sentiment in favor of his own administration and against the Reformers without any real justification for it except the ingenious plea that this Province was in danger of rebellion as much as the Province of Lower Canada was at the same time. Not only was he able to control public meetings, but in the election of the House of Assembly that year (1836), he carried a majority and even Mackenzie was defeated at the polls in the district which he had carried so often.[2] Undoubtedly, as we have seen, the prospective rebellion in Lower Canada, which had been growing stronger and stronger and more open for the past few years, had its influence in encouraging the Reform leaders in Upper Canada to act in the same direction, but the presence of this rebellion in the neighboring Province also influenced the Conservatives to frown upon anything that had the appearance of sedition, and it was to this element that Head appealed with such remarkable success. It was decidedly undignified for him to hold public meetings. No other Lieutenant-Governor

His astonishing political success

Mackenzie defeated, 1836

[2] Probably one cause of Mackenzie's defeat was his unpopular and impolitic acts as mayor of Toronto, one of these being the placing of a woman in the stocks.

had ever done so, but he was willing to let the end justify the means. He had been having trouble with his Parliament all this time, and the fury that was excited by these quarrels, instead of building up the Reform Party, had actually worked its great weakening. An election, which, as we have seen, resulted in the defeat of Mackenzie and Bidwell and other leaders, was a cruel awakening to them. Most Canadian authors deal with Head severely. They declare that by his tactics he really drove Mackenzie, Bidwell, and the rest of them into revolt because he showed them that he was a better politician than they were and had a stronger influence with the people; and, seeing this, they felt that they could gain nothing for their ends through the civil government, and determined as an alternative to resort to force.

Head charged with driving Mackenzie into rebellion

One can easily understand that, in addition to the various parties of Canada, there was another element puzzled by Sir Francis's success. The Colonial Secretary, Glenelg, was completely at sea. He had received a great many reports from Upper Canada protesting against the Governor's actions as undignified and likely to stir up an enormous amount of trouble, but when he saw that, by securing his way at the polls, the Governor had apparently the situation well in hand, the Colonial Secretary hardly dared tell such a successful man as this that he was a failure.

A strictly modern appeal

To those who read the political arguments in that campaign of 1836 and other campaigns of that period, there is much that is familiar. They do not differ so radically from many of the arguments and accusations of our day. Head's language was

certainly undignified and improper, and those who charge our officials of to-day with corrupt use of patronage and unjust identification of their personal fortunes with the cause they advocate, should read Head's address to the electors of the Newcastle riding in this campaign, in which he said these absurd things: "I consider that my character and your interests are embarked in one and the same boat. . . . It is my opinion that if you choose to dispute with me and live on bad terms with the mother country, you will, to use a homely phrase, only quarrel with your bread and butter."

Head's language improper

THE MACKENZIE REVOLT

THE new Parliament which Head had succeeded in carrying against the Reformers, met on November 8th, but the session was unimportant. The Reformers, although in the minority, succeeded in stirring up more irritation than they had done when in the majority. Still, they were not able to effect anything, and their influence on legislation was not very great. Although the session lasted all winter long, until the 4th of the next March, it was quiet considering the stormy aftermath. It began soon to be evident that Mackenzie was determined to take a new tack. The control which Head secured over the electorate was a painful shock to Mackenzie and his followers. They perhaps could not believe that the people of Upper Canada were against them, but they did believe that so powerful was the agency of the Lieutenant-Governor that in the present form of government he could override the will of the people, or at any rate so present conditions as to amount to a coercion of the popular will. This

How the Reformers argued

seems to have been the mental operations of Mackenzie, Bidwell, and others. Having determined that the British Crown and its representatives were thus able to interfere with popular government, as they conceived it, the radical Reformers (not including Baldwin) took the last step in this reasoning, namely, that the connection of the colony with the British Crown should be severed. It is not probable to believe that Mackenzie had long consciously held this belief. He was forced into it by his defeat, from which he never recovered. Nor is it possible to believe that Mackenzie was a thoroughly balanced man. Undoubtedly his ideas were good at the bottom, but he was certainly led by desire for notoriety and sensationalism into paths which he must have known were wrong and disloyal.

Organizing a revolt

The new course of affairs was clearly pointed out by the action of Mackenzie and his followers in the summer of 1837 in holding meetings throughout the Province, organizing the people to resist the aggressions of the Family Compact and the agents of the British Government. Reform newspapers contained editorials which could be considered nothing less than inciting to insurrection. In spite of this temper of the meetings and the editorials, no attempt whatever was made by Head to check them, or in any way to show his disapproval of them. Possibly he feared that any active interference on his part would react against himself. Rather, however, it is to be believed that he fondly imagined that he was in such firm control of the situation that no rebellion was possible. Furthermore, he was at the same time having trouble with his Executive Council, that body always supposed to be in thorough accord with the

Head refuses to stop seditious utterances

Governor. The dispute was a petty one and was concerned with the appointment of judges. It was personal, rather than political or fundamental, and yet it weakened the grasp which the Governor had upon the people when his influence ought to have been very great. By this time autumn was approaching, and the insurrection in Lower Canada, as we know, was assuming a dangerous condition. Colborne[3] had assembled all the troops of Lower Canada and called upon Head to furnish all the regulars from Upper Canada to be sent to suppress the Papineau rebellion. In doing this Colborne had advised Head to fill their places with militia, but Head seems to have had no fears on the subject and promptly forwarded practically all the troops in the Province to Lower Canada and made no attempt whatever to assemble or form a militia for the purpose of preserving order. On departing from Toronto, the troops left behind 4,000 stand of arms in that city. This was an important circumstance, for the presence of these arms and this ammunition unguarded was the immediate provocation of the outbreak—just as much so as the store of American ammunition and arms near Concord in 1775, and the attempt of the British to capture it, was the provocation of the American Revolution. Those arms had been the centre of Mackenzie's attention for a long time. Mass meetings were being held, and in some places, notably in the Lloydtown district, men were drilling as a sort of military com-

Head's troops sent to suppress Papineau

Arms left in Toronto

[3] Colborne, it will be remembered, had retired and was on his way to England, when he was overtaken at New York with an order to take command of the military forces of Canada, anticipating the Lower Canadian Rebellion.

pany. They had no guns, to be sure, but they were just as menacing to the peace of Canada as if they had. Yet the Governor made no move. Friends of the Family Compact went to him in considerable numbers and besought him to take some steps which would nip the rebellion in the bud, but he persisted in his stand that there was as yet no rebellion, and that in fact no rebellion would come into being.

Head at last takes action

But as winter came on, so fearful did the Loyalist section of Toronto become that, more to please them than for any other reason, Head at last gave orders to the colonel of the militia that they should hold themselves ready for any emergency.

This was a decided step in advance, although Head did not realize it. Mackenzie did. He saw that, whether Head ordered it or not, the militia would soon take means to disperse his adherents. He then resolved to meet this action by action as prompt and thoroughly defiant. It is interesting at this point to see what step he is taking.

Mackenzie's folly

He is British; he has been a forceful man in Canada; he knows that he has within himself powers and capabilities which can be used to the advancement of his country. He is pretty well assured of reasonable recognition by the Province, and can always be, or should be for many years at least, a leader of a party, and perhaps should be the leader of the majority party, and the real, if not the recognized, ruler of Upper Canada. Yet, because of pique, or ambition, or fatuity, he deliberately throws away all those considerations for the sake of a nebulous idea which he hoped to make real—an independent country.

Without doubt the proximity of the Republic

of the United States had much to do with the growth of the independent spirit in both of the Canadas, but Mackenzie ought to have known that between the American colonies and England in 1775 no such conditions existed as between the Canadian colonies and England in 1837. That very summer, indeed, he had seen, or should have seen, one example of how much stronger Upper Canada was than the United States in one important matter, namely, finance and banking. For the summer of 1837 was one of the most disastrous in the banking history of the United States; almost every section of the country saw the collapse of banks, while in Upper Canada, on the other hand, the finances of the country were undisturbed, and the banks successfully rode out the storm, resisting all attempts to suspend specie payments. On the contrary, Mackenzie tried, like demagogues of to-day, to use those anxious times as arguments against the party in power. He even publicly urged a run on the bank of Upper Canada, and this run was frustrated by the bank in an ingenious way. The bank secured a large number of its friends to go to it ahead of Mackenzie's dupes and draw out their money, only to replace it that evening. A day or so of that sort of thing proved that the bank was solvent, or, at any rate, strong in the confidence of many. Mackenzie, by this attitude, showed that he had lost all sense of caution or reason. No sooner had the Governor issued orders for the potential calling out of the militia than Mackenzie boldy published a descriptive list of nineteen revolutions in the history of the world, and plainly indicated to the people of Upper Canada that it was their duty and opportunity to follow

The panic of '37

A run on a bank frustrated

Mackenzie's list of world revolutions

this example. In his paper, the "Constitution," on November 17th, he published a long proposed constitution of the new nation, and circulated it throughout the Province. It was very like the Constitution of the United States. With that publication Mackenzie undoubtedly crossed the Rubicon. There was now no turning back. The Attorney-General informed Head, who certainly was now face to face with rebellion, that Mackenzie should be arrested on the charge of treason, but before the slow process of the law could take up this matter he had fled, accompanied by a small band of followers, and begun active preparations for a specific outbreak.

Charged with treason and flees

Now follows the story which is even more ridiculous than that of the still-born revolt in Lower Canada, which about this time was known to be a failure. Just before Mackenzie's flight from Toronto, at a meeting held there on the 18th of November, it was decided to assemble on the 7th of the next month all the members of the Reform Party and their friends as far as possible with arms, and to march upon Toronto and capture it. Montgomery's Tavern, located about four miles from Toronto, was to be the place of meeting. Mackenzie and his friends seemed to believe that, with the capture of Toronto, their success would be complete, and the Government would fall into their hands without further contest. This was an absurd notion to have crossed the brains of sensible people.

The insurrection

Plans to take Toronto, Dec. 7

Toronto was a little town of four or five thousand people, with no fortifications. Nothing but petty temporary prestige would have been gained by capturing it, and its recapture might have

City would have been worth little

been merely the work of a few hours, provided the inhabitants of the Province were still loyal and hostile to Mackenzie's plans; but without the almost unanimous support of the people of the Province the capture of Toronto by Mackenzie would mean almost nothing. These blind leaders of the blind, however, had no notion of the real situation. Intoxicated by their former victories, they could not believe the people were against them now. They went quickly to work to gather, in the three weeks remaining, all their forces at Montgomery's Tavern. In spite of these preparations, news of which reached Head constantly, nothing was done. Sir Francis continued incredulous about the existence of arms. Mackenzie had fled the country, apparently, and he thought that, with this condition of affairs, no other peril was at hand. But Mackenzie was traversing the country in the neighborhood of Toronto, arousing interest and enthusiasm. He had left immediate command of affairs at Montgomery's Tavern in the hands of Dr. Rolfe. The latter was really responsible for the fiasco that followed. He learned that the news of the rendezvous and the mobilization of the rebel army itself had been carried to the Governor, and he determined to anticipate the attack by three days.

Mackenzie completely misled

Dr. Rolfe orders quicker action

Consequently when, on the night of December 3d, Mackenzie arrived in the neighborhood of Montgomery's Tavern, he found that Rolfe had ordered the attack to be made on the next night, the 4th, and that a part of his army was already on the way to the city. Mackenzie was appalled by this sudden change of plan without his approbation, but soon saw that it was useless to attempt to counter-

Mackenzie appalled at the change of date

mand it. He did, then, what was most wise to do under the circumstances. He urged that the attack be made on the next day with all possible speed. While on a reconnoitring expedition on the night of the 3d, Mackenzie and four others had come upon John Powell and Archibald McDonough, who were members of a skirmishing party from the city. Mackenzie informed them that they were prisoners, and ordered them to go to Montgomery's Tavern and await the disposition of themselves and their effects. While they were going in that direction, Powell shot one of his guards dead and escaped. He hurried to the city and informed the Governor of the fact that an army was just outside the city, which would in a few hours be upon it and demand its surrender. Then it was that Sir Francis at last awoke. He sent orders to the people of all the outlying districts at once to assemble and proceed to Toronto, to defend their capital, with Colonel FitzGibbon in command.

Head informed of the rebellion

The rebels begin to lose courage

Meantime the insurgents had assembled in the neighborhood of the tavern about 800 men, not all of whom, by any means, were armed with rifles or constituted a military body in any sense. Nor were they very militant in their general attitude. Some of them began to protest strongly that they had not supposed that there would be any resistance, and were determined to go home rather than fire upon or be fired upon by their kindred in Toronto. The Governor tried to stop this immediate attack by sending out parties under a flag of truce, offering to negotiate, and undoubtedly he succeeded in postponing the moment of attack. One of the messengers whom the Governor sent was Rolfe

himself, who was in thorough league with Mackenzie and his followers. Mackenzie refused to postpone the attack at the Governor's request, but nevertheless decided to wait until nightfall before moving forward. It was a little after six o'clock when this grand army of six or seven hundred men started out to capture the capital of Upper Canada. They had gone a very short distance when they came upon a small band of Loyalists, a picket which had been sent out by Colonel FitzGibbon, head of the improvised army at Toronto. This little band did pretty good execution, hitting several of the rebels, killing a few, and putting all the rest to flight. In spite of all that Mackenzie could do, it was a disastrous rout. More than half of the rebels took to their legs, threw away their arms, and were never more seen in rebellion. Enough remained, however, to make a force ready for attack on the next morning. Rolfe had seen enough to realize that his cause was lost, and he fled to the United States, accompanied by a few of his friends. Mackenzie, however, stayed with his deluded followers, and made preparations to continue the attack, hoping that by the next day many reenforcements would appear.

The attack, Dec. 4, 1837

Insurgents badly defeated

Meanwhile the general in command of this motley mob had not come. He had been a colonel in the army of Bonaparte, Van Egmond by name, and it was not until Thursday morning, the 6th, that he arrived. By this time the effects of the alarm sent throughout the Province by the Governor began to tell. Colonel Allan MacNab, at Hamilton, led a party, "the men of Gore," on board a steamboat, which he seized at the wharf, and in three hours after receiving the news they were on their way to

A strong loyal force quickly gathered

Toronto. From all parts of the Province militiamen and citizens came, offering their services to the Governor, and by Thursday there were probably 2,000 men, more or less skilled in arms, to defend the capital. Meanwhile the army under Van Egmond had been attempting to get itself in order. The mail from Montreal had been captured and its cash appropriated; communication with Toronto, eastward, had been cut off; but almost no reenforcements had come, and the army had dwindled until now there were less than 400 men hanging around Montgomery's Tavern, looking to Mackenzie for some sort of deliverance from their present plight. But Mackenzie was powerless to do anything. He seems merely to have awaited the issue.

Mackenzie's "army" dwindles

He had not long to wait, for on Thursday, the 6th, the loyal army began to move against the rebels. Six hundred men under Colonel Allan MacNab marched out at eleven o'clock and attacked the insurgents, who were attempting to hold a position in a grove near the road about Gallows Hill. The attacking force had two guns, and when they opened fire on this little band of unorganized rebels, and that attack was followed by the charge of the Loyalists, the insurgents fled in all directions. It was a complete rout. Very few men were killed; none at all on the Loyalist side. It is said that very little attempt was made to capture alive any of the insurgents, and that some of them were killed outright while attempting to surrender. At any rate, only two prisoners were brought in, and they were immediately discharged. At the first fire, Mackenzie, seeing his men deserting him, himself took to the woods, and after a series of interesting and

Loyalists utterly rout the insurgents, and Mackenzie escapes across the border

exciting adventures, he found his way to Buffalo, where he was protected by his friends and American sympathizers.

Upper Canada's sound sense

This is the end of the story of the attempt to capture Toronto. It was a most miserable fiasco, and it is questionable whether it could have been anything else. There was no disposition at any time in Upper Canada to go so far as to desert the English flag. Undoubtedly the people of that Province sympathized with Mackenzie when he was being unjustly treated by the Government and espoused his cause and endorsed his demands, which in time became written into law. But they would not follow him in his personal grievances; they did not feel as keenly as he did the wrongs of the day, and they showed, as always is the case, that human nature is, after all, conservative, and few men are radicals to the last. Then, too, they came to suspect Mackenzie's honesty, and when he protested against the popular verdict of the election of 1836 they would not follow him. This is all tantamount to saying that they were right, as people in the mass usually are when the final test comes. But Mackenzie and his friends could not understand this; they could not see that the mass of the people were actuated by different impulses from theirs, and so they made the unfortunate blunder, the story of which we have just told.

Spasmodic attempts at revolution

But this was by no means the end of the revolt in Upper Canada, or at least it was not the end of the attempt to spread the revolt in Upper Canada. The story of the happenings of the next few months, and perhaps year, is an exceedingly petty one, and need not be given here in detail. While the militia were

pouring into Toronto until there were 10,000 of them there that winter, Mackenzie and Rolfe and the other revolutionists were organizing expeditions in the United States near the Canadian border prefatory to other expeditions against Toronto. All these expeditions failed. Some of them had a little temporary success. All of them were to some extent aided by the Americans round about, and they kept the inhabitants of Upper Canada in a state of excitement and trepidation throughout the entire summer and the following winter. One or two of these expeditions were directed against Sandwich, opposite Detroit, and it is said that the arms of the invading force were taken from the Michigan arsenals. National or State rifles were said to have been used at other points by the invading forces. In fact, it is not too much to say that the conduct of some citizens of the United States during this time was by no means either friendly or proper. One of these expeditions had seized an island called Navy Island, opposite Buffalo, and a ship, the "Caroline," had been active in carrying supplies to the rebels there. The Canadian troops, under the command of Colonel MacNab, determined to seize this ship. They crossed the river and found the "Caroline" moored on the American side. They surprised the crew, took everybody off the ship, set it afire, and allowed it to drift into the rapids and then over the falls—a truly magnificent spectacle. For this action the Canadian troops were roundly blamed by the United States, and there was considerable talk of war between the two countries. This talk was aggravated by the action of the Canadians in receiving runaway slaves, who by this time had

American citizens aid in a bad cause

A ship sent over Niagara Falls

become quite constant phenomena in the north of the United States and in Canada. Between the Southern slave-owners and the Jingo population along the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, the American Government had a hard task set it, and was somewhat justified in its blustering; but, of course, no war occurred. Bluster and talk of war

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HEAD RECALLED

We have been anticipating just a little the story of the wranglings of the two countries. At the time of the burning of the "Caroline," a change was made in the head of the Government. It was plain that Sir Francis Head had not been early enough aroused to the seriousness of the situation, and this fact and the uneven record which he had made impelled the British Government to call upon him for his resignation, which was offered at once. He prorogued the Legislature on March 6, 1838, and at once began his preparations to depart. His successor was Sir George Arthur, who arrived at Toronto and was sworn in on the 23d of March. Sir Francis had a very interesting time returning to England. He had been informed that if he attempted to go back by way of Quebec and Halifax he would be assassinated, so, in order to escape the frying-pan, he dared the fire of New York State, where he was a decidedly unpopular man. It was a rash thing for him to do. He was pursued by rebel sympathizers, and if he had not been a good horseman he would probably have paid the extreme penalty for his rashness. But he reached New York City in safety, and with his departure for England we shall leave him. Sir George Arthur sworn in, March 23, 1838

Head's narrow escape in New York

Rebel manifestations continue

The manifestations of rebellion and revolt did not cease after Sir George Arthur took command of the Province. Petty affairs kept happening on both sides of the border. Hunter's Lodges[4] were organized almost everywhere, and the bellicose spirit of the Americans kept the authorities on both sides of the international boundary in a constant fear lest some foolish deed should precipitate active hostilities. Sir John Colborne all this time was in charge of military affairs of both Canadas. He had successfully repressed the rebellion in Lower Canada, and he kept his finger upon conditions in the other Province. He also took measures to prepare for war with the United States. The forts at various strategic points were manned and strengthened and put in a proper state of defense. Those were very unhappy times for Upper Canada, for several executions of rebels took place. The jails were full of political offenders, and courts-martial were being held to dispose of these cases. Most of the prisoners were pardoned. Some of them, as we have said, were executed, and among them were some Americans, whose punishment naturally added to the anti-Canadian feeling in the United States. Gradually, however, peace was fully restored, the quarrels between the United States and Canada were referred to proper tribunals, and, by the end of 1838, Upper Canada settled down into a condition of peace, which has been practically unbroken up to the present time.

Political offenders executed

[4] These originated with a Canadian insurgent named Hunter from York, who escaped to the United States and organized Hunter's Lodges for the express purpose of driving Great Britain from North America.

CHAPTER XLVI

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF DURHAM

TWO rebellions in one year in Canada convinced England that some radical change must be made in the form of government, or in the governing factors in that colony. Accordingly, the British Ministers decided to send out a statesman of highest rank and ability to administer the government as a despot, and devise a government for Canada which should be humane and just, but should also afford no chance for the breaking out of another rebellion. To get that kind of man was undoubtedly a difficult task, but he was soon found in the Earl of Durham, whose name was henceforth to be linked with the history of Canada. Let us know something about this man.

A radical change determined upon

His name was John George Lambton. He was born in the county of Durham in 1792. He early entered politics as a Whig, and when just twenty-one years of age became a Member of Parliament. During the agitation for the corn laws he took a leading part. He was made a baron in 1828, and a member of the Grey Ministry in 1830. In 1832 he was sent on a difficult mission to St. Petersburg, which he executed with great credit. The next year he was made an earl. In 1835 he left the Ministry and became Ambassador to Russia, and on his re-

Distinction that was earned

tirement from that position, in 1838, he was asked to take charge of Canada. It was a despotic mission in which his power was to be supreme, for the Constitution of Lower Canada had been suspended, and so had the writ of habeas corpus. Yet he entered upon this task with the confidence of the English people, who felt that, as a Whig in politics, he was eminently qualified to be both humane and firm in his new task. He was not only ruler of Lower Canada, but he was made Governor-General of British North America, including Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. He was also appointed Lord High Commissioner, with full power to adjust all questions and disputes rising out of the rebellion. In fact, he was what, in one sense, we might call a benevolent despot, and in the other a Pooh-bah. As Professor George M. Wrong, in his admirable biography of the Earl of Elgin, says, no British sovereign has ever possessed the power in England that Durham was granted in Canada, and considering his authority, he may be excused if he took his mission very seriously. An imposing retinue went with him. He demanded a Chief Secretary and legal adviser, a military secretary, two assistant secretaries, eight aide-de-camps, and so on. The newspapers got hold of the fact that he was taking his gold and silver plate to Canada and predicted that the warship on which he sailed would be sunk by the weight of the plate. And, when he disembarked, it actually took several days to remove his baggage from the ship. Professor Wrong describes the opening of his career thus:

Given more power than the King has in England

His imposing retinue

"The 28th of May, 1838, saw the quiet city of

Quebec startled by a brilliant pageant; on that day Lord Durham landed in the most picturesque of New World cities. In early years he had served in the army, and now, in a full general's uniform, and mounted on a white charger, he indulged his taste for military parade, and, surrounded by a brilliant staff, rode through the streets of Quebec to the Governor's residence, the Castle of St. Louis. The people whom he had come to rule, and also to serve with the best powers of his undoubted genius, were not left even for a day without a message from him. Immediately after landing, he issued a proclamation calling upon the Canadians to unite with him 'in the blessed work of peace and harmony,' and inviting them to make him the recipient of their wishes, complaints, and grievances. At once he named a new Executive Council to advise him, and devoted himself to the arduous labors that his complex task involved.

A very dramatic entrance, May 28, 1838

"He bore himself with characteristic stateliness. His staff, when he rode out, was almost as showy as that of an Eastern satrap; the magnificent appointments of Lady Durham's drawing-room were a marvel; royal feasts were given at the Castle of St. Louis. And all the time Durham was half an invalid, confined to the house, for days, and with the shadow of his early death already upon him. Yet he inspired the varied inquiries that were to lead the British public for the first time to understand something of the real meaning of Canada's problems. He tried to make the French see that he was their friend. He read assiduously the utterances of their press, and understood, if he did not adopt, their point of view. To the French problem

Indefatigable and tireless to secure information and points of view

he did not confine himself. He visited Upper Canada, of which, also, he was Governor-General, and used his authority to tell its stern Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Arthur, who, as a result of the recent troubles, had been sending too many men to the scaffold, that there must be no more political executions. He went even farther afield, and summoned delegates from Nova Scotia and other Maritime Provinces in the far east to meet him at Quebec in the autumn.

Durham's problem clear

"Durham's chief problem was to reconcile the English and the French; he found them, in his own famous phrase, 'two people warring in the bosom of a single state,' and waging precisely the kind of war most difficult to end, because least reasonable and definite in its cause and purpose. The French Canadians were now a people held down by force of arms; Colborne's twelve thousand British troops were a grim reality before their eyes. But none the less were they resolved to have a state controlled by themselves. To this the English minority were unalterably opposed, and Durham slowly came to the conclusion that the only hope for Canada was to make the English supreme. To do this but one way seemed open. If he abolished totally the existing division between Upper and Lower Canada; if, instead of two Parliaments, there was but one, in which both English and French sat, the French would from the first be equaled; and, since the English, by immigration, were increasing the more rapidly, the French would in the end be outnumbered, and Canada would be prevailingly British. Through Lord Durham's mind there flitted the wider vision of a federation of British North America, which

Decides that the English must be supreme

EARL OF DURHAM
1792-1840

should include the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland. But it was a vision to be realized by others, not by him."

The vision of a seer

I am inclined to believe that his conception of English control was supreme over his other conception of the Union of the two Provinces. That is, I believe that if he had not foreseen that the Union would have a British majority, he would not have been in favor of union. In other words, it was union as the best way of securing British control rather than union for itself alone that he favored. Not every one could see this as readily as he did, but it was plain to him, in spite of the fecundity of the French Canadians, that the impossibility of any further French immigration to Canada and the certainty of larger English, Scotch, and Irish immigration would in a generation or two certainly make the majority of the two Canadas British and not French. This was the judgment or the vision of a seer. Undoubtedly Lord Durham belonged in that class.

The disposition of political prisoners

Why was it, then, that his rule in Canada was so short, for he came in May and went in November? An easy question to answer. It all resulted from the alertness of his mind and his disposition to cut out red tape and proceed directly to his point without regard to precedents. One big problem which faced the Governor-General at that time was what to do with the ringleaders of the rebellion. In Upper Canada he had censured the Lieutenant-Governor for being so severe. In Lower Canada it would not do to pardon these men as might be done in Upper Canada, where the rebels were English, and it would not do to execute them, for that would

seem too harsh and severe. What should he do with them then? He decided that an easy solution of the difficulty lay in transportation of the prisoners, and that Bermuda should be the place to receive them. In June they were ordered to Bermuda, where they would be treated generously, and not as prisoners, and allowed to make their living the best way they could, but they should not return to Canada. No one disputed the wisdom of this plan of Durham, but unfortunately there was no legal authority for it. Canada had no direct relations with Bermuda, and for the rulers of that colony to be compelled to receive political prisoners from another colony without the assent of the London authorities was impossible. Some way ought to have been found around it, or the Government ought to have promptly disavowed the ordinance of Durham and immediately advised him of it. But politics entered into the affair, and he was made a sacrifice to its demands. He was a Radical, and both the Whigs and the Tories were against him. Violent attacks were made upon him in the House of Lords by Brougham, who had once been his friend, but with whom he had quarreled, and he found no defenders there. In fact, the Melbourne Government, not very sure of itself in any respect, wilted entirely before the matter had a chance of a hearing in the House of Commons. The Premier then, in August, gave up the struggle and announced that he would disavow the ordinance which at first he defended, although weakly.

Durham orders prisoners to Bermuda

No legal authority for it

He is sacrificed to political necessities

This result of Durham's action was most surprising to him. He had no idea that it would provoke such resentment, and it would certainly have not so

The blow prostrates Durham

resulted had it not been for the very bitter temper of the politics of that time and Durham's personal unpopularity. Melbourne actually deserted him from cowardice, and then did not have the grace or decency to inform him of the decision. It was left to Durham to learn first of his humiliation from American newspapers. It was a prostrating and overwhelming blow. So absorbed was he in the work, and so vast was the vista of usefulness which he saw stretching out before him, that probably he would have gone on in Canada and spent the best years of his life there. But this sudden end of all his hopes and dreams drove him to the grave, and less than two years later he died. Yet so all-embracing and all-possessing was his interest in Canada that he was determined to forget himself and his sorrow, and present to England and Canada the results of his work and thought upon the future of the Canadas. He sailed from Quebec on November 1, 1838, and it is absolutely true that even the French party realized that in his loss they had lost a friend. Few of them expected that he would outlive the journey to England, but the sea revived him to some extent, and his indomitable will did the rest. So on shipboard and in every moment afterward he worked unceasingly on that report, which has become the greatest pathfinder that Canada has known. This report, which was a very large document, was presented to Parliament early in 1839. There has been much speculation as to the amount of it that Durham actually wrote himself, but nothing except speculation was possible. Probably he wrote or dictated by far the greater part of it, but undoubtedly also he had some assistance.

His devotion to duty uppermost

His great report presented early in 1839

CHAPTER XLVII

THE UNION OF 1840

AFTER the departure of Lord Durham for home, Sir John Colborne was appointed Governor-General, and remained so for almost a year. Colborne's history in Canada was a peculiar one. He had made practically a failure in Upper Canada, and, it will be remembered, was on his way home when the situation in Lower Canada became so tense that it was necessary to have some one in command of the military preparations, and Colborne was ordered to go to Quebec for that purpose. The order found him in New York on the eve of sailing.

Colborne Governor-General one year

So successful was he in subduing the rebellion in Lower Canada, and so well did he conduct affairs, that his elevation to the post of Governor-General was a deserved and not at all surprising promotion. But, having practically subdued the country and done the work to which he was called, and feeling that now was a good time to let go, he preferred to ask his recall rather than brave the danger of more exhibitions of fickle-mindedness on the part of the home Government. So in October, 1839, Mr. Poulett Thomson arrived and took his place. A few days later Colborne sailed for home, where he was soon made Lord Seaton.

Mr. Poulett Thomson succeeds him

POULETT THOMSON, AFTERWARD LORD SYDENHAM

Thomson's administration successful

THE administration of Thomson was a conspicuously successful one, considering the circumstances. Although he was a commoner, and had been engaged in business, he stood so high in affairs of England that he was offered the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and declined it to accept his new task in Canada. The rebellion had broken out again immediately after Durham sailed, and spasms of rebellion continued up to and after the time that Thomson arrived. His duties, however, were not concerned very much with the military situation, but had chiefly to do with smoothing away the preliminaries for the adoption of the plan of union upon which the British ministry had decided. He anticipated, and had, very little difficulty in the Lower Province, for the reason that he was able there to make his own Government. Lower Canada was still nominally in a state of rebellion, and there was no legal, constitutional authority aside from his own. He therefore continued to recognize the Special Council of Lower Canada which had been constituted by Lord Durham, and before it he laid the proposition for the Union of the two Provinces in accordance with Lord Durham's report. This Council met on the 11th of November, 1839, and on the 13th a series of resolutions signifying the acceptance by the Council of the proposed plan of union was passed without any formidable opposition.

Lower Canada favors Union

In Upper Canada the situation was somewhat different. The "Family Compact" was still in control of affairs, and it was easily perceivable by its

members that a union of their Province and the other would necessarily limit their power very considerably. Thomson lost no time, however, in proceeding to Toronto, and summoned the Legislature to meet on the 3d of December, 1839. In his address to them he outlined in detail the plans for union, and gave out at the same time a despatch from Lord John Russell which endorsed his views, and in fact formed the basis for his declarations. This settled the question for Upper Canada. The Assembly or popular body was already in favor of union, and the Legislative Council, which had held off by reason of the opposition of the Family Compact, now saw it was opposing the wishes of the home Government, and so gracefully withdrew opposition to the Union, and the necessary resolutions were speedily passed. The mind of Canada having been ascertained, the Governor-General sent to the British Ministry a report of his work and the draft of the bill which he regarded as satisfactory. This bill was at once laid before the House of Commons, and after considerable debate was passed by both Houses, and was assented to by the Queen on July 23, 1840. The Union, however, did not come into operation until the 10th of February, 1841.

Upper Canada assents grudgingly

THE UNION OF 1840

THE general features of this measure are so important that they must be given here, but they are not important enough to give in detail, because they were superseded to some extent by the formation of the Dominion twenty-five years later. The name of the Union was the Province of Canada. One Legislative Council and one House of Assembly,

The Province of Canada

The Legislature

constituted the Legislature. The Legislative Council was to consist of not less than twenty members, who should be appointed by the Governor to hold their office for life. The House of Assembly was to consist of eighty-four members, the representation being equally divided between the two Provinces. The English language was to be used in all written or printed proceedings of legislature. Forty-five thousand pounds constituted the Civil List. The Governor was to receive £7,000 and the Lieutenant-Governor £1,000. There was also a sum of £30,000 for other expenses and offices not judicial or executive. There was only one qualification for a member of the House besides the necessity that he be a natural born or naturalized subject of the Queen, and that was that he should be in possession of landed estate worth £500. The most important part of this provision, of course, is something that does not appear in the bill itself, but was a sort of executive declaration. It was the assertion by the Governor-General, on the 14th of January, 1840, that "he had been commanded by her Majesty to administer the government in accordance with the well-understood wishes of the people, and to pay to their feelings, as expressed through their representatives, a deference that was justly due to them." This was regarded at that time, and has since stood, as the point of divergence—an epoch-marking utterance, from which time Canada, so far as internal affairs are concerned, began to be self-ruled, although the process was not completed until Elgin's time. Lower Canada was still governed by the Special Council, and was in much better condition without a Legislative Assembly than

Canada begins to be self-ruled

in the old days when the Assemblies were always in session and always quarreling.

It was in this year, 1840, that the monument to General Brock was erected on Queenston Heights. But on the 17th of April, the day on which the monument was to be dedicated, some miscreant blew it up, thus spoiling the celebration and showing evidence that the rebellious spirit had not yet died out. The Upper Canadian people, however, were not to be frightened out of a proper recognition of the gallant hero of the War of 1812, and a large meeting on the following July 30th was held on the spot and subscriptions were taken to rebuild the monument in even greater splendor than before.

The first election, April 8, 1841

The remainder of that year in Upper Canada was chiefly devoted to preparations for the first general election. The Union of the Provinces had been proclaimed on the 10th of February, 1841, and the 8th of April was the date set for the election. The vote cast was very large, and the Reform element obtained a very small majority in Upper Canada. The Conservatives polled a good vote, but the Family Compact, out of forty-two members, had only seven upon which they could rely. The Legislature met at Kingston, which had been agreed upon as the first capital, on June 14th, and organized. The Assembly chose Mr. Courillier, French Canadian Reformer, as the Speaker.

The first appearance of the Ministry

The distinguishing characteristic of this first administration was the Executive Council. This Executive Council began in a short time, if not from the first, to be called the Ministry. It was the successor of the old Executive Council, and appointed in the same way, except that all of its members held

a high office of state aside from their position as Executive Councilors. Thus it will be seen that the office was exactly the same as was that of members of the Ministry in England, and in this way the Ministry was constituted and became responsible, not so much to the executive who appointed them, as to the popular will as manifested in the House or the Assembly. This was responsible government indeed. It was a radical change. The old Executive Council, it will be remembered, was the creation and the tool of the Governor alone. The new Executive Council was the real executive of Canada. The head of this Council was no longer the Governor, but an officer who became known in the Dominion as Premier, or Prime Minister, and really came to rule Canada, while the Governor gradually sank into the position of nominally conducting the affairs of state, but really acting merely as representative of the Imperial power, and possessing little more authority than a figurehead. It is true this change did not take place at once, but it is also important to notice that it began to gain strength at this time, and that the Union Act thus had an importance far beyond that which its projectors intended. The existence of the two Provinces was recognized in the Executive Council only in the office of Attorney-General, one for Canada East, and another for Canada West. The first Council was composed of Messrs. Sullivan, who was president, Dunn, Daly, Harrison, Ogden, Draper, Baldwin, and Day. Of these men the best known to us is Baldwin. As one of the original Reformers, he kept his faith in the Crown while yet maintaining his principles. Such clarity and honesty were what

Responsible government indeed

Union Act far-reaching

differentiated him from Mackenzie and Papineau, who were originally honest and patriotic, but lost their heads in moments of excitement, and became parties to unworthy ambition and feverish imagination. In spite of the general feeling of conciliation, the Governor had not seen fit to ask any of the French element to enter the Council, and this was regarded by Baldwin as a mistake. As soon as the Assembly met, Baldwin proposed the reconstruction of the Council and the bringing into it of the French members, but the Governor-General refused to do this, and Mr. Baldwin resigned from the Ministry and placed himself in opposition to the Government. The Legislative Council, which has been succeeded by the Senate, was a body in the building up of which considerable care had to be exercised. A number of new members were introduced into it, and the result was not altogether harmonious.

Baldwin in the new Ministry but resigns

The Governor-General had by this time earned his right to be raised to the peerage, and was appointed Baron Sydenham of Toronto. He did not long enjoy his honors; on the 4th of September, 1841, he fell from his horse and broke his leg. The shock was too much for him, and he died on the 19th of the same month. Canadians justly hold the name of Charles Poulett Thomson, or Lord Sydenham, in high esteem. He was the administrator at a very marked time, and while he was not without errors of judgment, on the whole his administration was a conspicuously able and successful one. In the bringing together of the two Canadas, the work of Sydenham was only second to that of Lord Durham, who conceived the idea of the Union, got the facts to back the idea, and clothed the idea with

Thomson made a peer, but soon dies

tangible suggestions and directions as to the statutory form which the Union should take. As Dr. W. B. Munro says, "the success of the Union is their joint epitaph."

SIR CHARLES BAGOT

Tories in power

ABOUT the time Sydenham died, the Whigs in England, who had put him in office, lost their hold on the Government, the Tories came into power, and appointed Sir Charles Bagot in Sydenham's place. It is a curious commentary on the instability of political prediction to observe the strikingly diverse mental attitudes of these two men. Sydenham was a Whig, which meant that he belonged to a school that was liberal and inclined to greater freedom than the Tories; yet Bagot, a Tory, showed himself very early in Canada's history favorable to a much larger freedom and a wider range of public usefulness for those who had recently been in the rebellion. Bagot was not at all afraid to ask the French Canadians to assist him in government, and he at once made successful overtures to the Reform element in both Upper and Lower Canada. Some of the old members of the Ministry had to give way to the Reformers. Mr. Baldwin came into the Ministry as Attorney-General for Canada West; Mr. Lafontaine for Canada East; Morin was made Commissioner for Crown Lands. So strong was the public sentiment back of this new Ministry that in the Assembly it secured sixty members, while the Opposition was only able to muster twenty-four. Among those who at this time became Ministers was Francis Hincks, the new Inspector-General, of whom we shall hear much later. At this time, be-

Bagot invited the French into the council

sides being a Member of Parliament from Oxford, he was the editor of the "Examiner" at Toronto, a sturdy Reform newspaper. The new Legislature, which met on September 8th, was a very creditable one. It showed itself friendly to public works, and was characterized by harmony and peace. Sir Charles Bagot, who had brought about this satisfactory condition of affairs, was not allowed long to enjoy his success, for, after a tedious illness, he died on the 19th of May, 1843, having been in office a little over a year.

Death of Bagot

SIR CHARLES METCALFE

THE next Governor was Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had filled, with much credit, a number of important positions, including that of Acting Governor of India and Governor of Jamaica. The good work which Sir Charles Bagot had done in bringing together parties was now to be undone to some extent by his successor. He showed himself to be a real Tory, which Bagot certainly was not, and he allied himself with the Conservative Party. In view of these ideas, he made the absurd blunder in December of practically suggesting to the Ministers that they resign, because he wanted to be surrounded by men more in sympathy with himself. Of course, at his demand, the Ministry resigned, but it was difficult to form a new one, because the Conservative Party was in the minority in the Assembly. At length, however, a ministry, with Mr. Draper as president, was formed, and it was decided to present an appeal to the country to sustain the new Government. The election, which took place on the 28th of September, resulted, strangely enough, in a small Conserva-

Called for the Ministry's resignation

Conservatives carry election

tive majority. It is difficult to understand how this happened. It was probably one of those tricks of politics which, after all, can not be explained. Undoubtedly the sentiment of the people was strongly in favor of the Reform Party, but, by reason of lethargy, or some other cause, the Reformers did not poll their full strength. The new Legislature met on the 28th of November, 1844, with Sir Allan MacNab as Speaker of the Assembly. The Conservative majority in the Assembly was about six. With this small number it was really impossible to conduct a successful Government. Metcalfe, who had now been made a peer, had paid dearly for his triumph in securing a Conservative majority, for the country was torn with political strife, and undoubtedly the Governor came at the last to see that his policy had been a failure. At any rate, in November, 1845, he resigned because of illness, returned to England, and died soon afterward.

Metcalfe fails and resigns

The great fires in Quebec, 1845

Among the important events of his administration were two fires in Quebec, which took place exactly a month apart—the 28th of May and the 28th of June, 1845—two of those terrible fires which have done such awful damage in the Lower Town. Several lives were sacrificed, and 24,000 people lost their homes and were reduced to great destitution.

Rebellion indemnity proposed

Earl Cathcart, lieutenant-general in the British army, had been sent to Canada to take charge of the military force after Colborne's resignation, and, on Lord Metcalfe's withdrawal, he was appointed administrator of the Government, and continued in this position for almost two years. The conspicuous event of his administration was the beginning of the agitation for the payment of indemnity for

losses sustained in the recent rebellion in both Provinces. The originator of the first measure was Sir Allan MacNab, Speaker of the House, and commonly called the Loyal Hero of the rebellion in Upper Canada. His measure related only to Upper Canada, and proposed that £40,000 should be appropriated for the above purpose. This bill subsequently passed without much opposition. But no sooner had this bill been introduced than the representatives from Lower Canada came forward with a similar demand, which had a stormy aftermath. This angered the Loyalists of Upper Canada, who regarded the people of Lower Canada as traitors, or at least rebels, and looked upon as infamous any proposition "to pay them for their rebelling." However, a commission was appointed to inquire into the affair, and it reported that the amount of losses and damages claimed by the citizens of Lower Canada was about £100,000, but recommended that £10,000 be appropriated to satisfy this demand. The rules under which this commission worked were very liberal to the French Canadians, requiring only that no one should receive damages who had been *proved* to be in the rebellion or in sympathy with the rebels. As it was very difficult at this time to prove any allegation of disloyalty against the habitants, this provision left a large loophole through which the intent of the law could be evaded. The recommendation, however, that £10,000 be appropriated for this purpose dissatisfied both the Loyalists and the French Canadians. The Loyalists were angry that any money was to be paid at all; the French Canadians because they were to get only ten per cent of their demands.

First measure applies to Upper Canada only

Commission proposes indemnity for Lower Canada too

No settlement

No actual authorization or settlement of the question was made, however, because it became known that a new Governor-General was soon to be appointed, and it was left to him to settle the important issue to his own satisfaction.

CHAPTER XLVIII

EARL OF ELGIN'S STORMY BUT SUCCESSFUL CAREER

THE Earl of Elgin was the new appointee. He was the eighth Earl of Elgin and was at first famous only for being the son of the earl who had taken the statuary from Greece, an act which was variously viewed by his contemporaries, and on which there is much divided opinion to-day. The eighth earl, by parliamentary addresses on the financial question, had made a brilliant success, and he continued to rise rapidly in public estimation. He had been a Member of the House of Commons only a few months before the death of his father made him Earl of Elgin. He was a peer, not of the United Kingdom, but of Scotland, and had no seat in the House of Lords, but being a Scottish peer, he was not allowed to sit in the House of Commons. It is said that he resented very warmly this forced exclusion from either House of Parliament, and was determined to test the legality of the regulations which made him suspended between heaven and earth. But while he was pondering on the matter, he accepted an appointment by Sir Robert Peel as Governor of Jamaica. His success was marked, although affairs there were economically very distressing, just as they are to-day.

His dubious state as a peer

Earl of Elgin related to the Colonial Secretary

While on a leave of absence from his duties, he was offered the position of Governor-General in Canada. His party, that of Sir Robert Peel, was now out of office, and the offer of this new position came to him through Lord Grey, Colonial Secretary of Lord John Russell's new Cabinet. This was a high compliment to Elgin, but possibly his preferment was due not only to his abilities, but also to his relationships, for in November of that year he married Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, daughter of the late Lord Durham; Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, was her uncle. It will thus be seen that before entering upon this important position, Elgin had behind him not only the prestige of his name and his former success, but the friendship of a relative in the Ministry, and not only a member of the Ministry, but the very one who would pass upon his work in Canada.

Elgin reaches Canada, Jan. 1847

Lord Elgin landed in North America in January, 1847. Boston was the port which he first reached, and in spite of the late feeling of irritation between the two countries, he was given an almost cordial reception, an earnest of the success which he was to win. On January 30th he reached Montreal, which since 1844 had been the seat of Parliament. He was only thirty-five years of age, but he was much more mature than his years, and much older in appearance. From the first moment, he seemed to sense the real situation, and to strike out in the right direction. He saw at once that Canada must rule herself, and must be given responsible government without interference from London. He found there a Conservative Government in a Reform country, and he soon recognized that this must pass away,

but he took no active steps in that direction, thinking that the inconsistency would disappear at the first general election. This it did, for on the 6th of December, when the election was held, the result was a sweeping Reform victory, the Conservatives securing less than one-fourth of the entire membership of the House of Assembly. This election was remarkable also in the reappearance of Wolfred Nelson and Papineau, leaders of the rebellion in Lower Canada in 1837. These two men had received amnesty and regained a part of their popularity. Indeed, Nelson became a useful member, but Papineau had lost his great prestige, and his after history is of no importance.

Reformers carry Assembly

Nelson and Papineau again in the House

Among the events of the first year of Lord Elgin's stay in Canada was the enormous immigration to Canada from Ireland, due to the famine. Seventy thousand immigrants landed in Quebec that summer. Most of them pressed on up the river and found homes in what is now eastern Ontario or west Quebec. Many of them perished from sickness and the results of famine. It was during this year, too, that the British Government began to take steps for transferring to Canada the control of the Post-Office Department. The new Parliament convened on the 25th of February, 1848, in Montreal by agreement. Mr. Morin was chosen Speaker of the Assembly. The Reform majority in the Assembly compelled the reorganization of the Ministry. Baldwin and Lafontaine headed the new Ministry, which had four French and eight Englishmen as its members.

Irish famine drives settlers to Canada

THE REBELLION LOSSES BILL PASSES

Large majority in the House

THIS Assembly was a peaceful one and very little of importance happened. It was plain, however, that the Rebellion Losses bill must soon come up for action. During the next year, 1849, a bill to appropriate £90,000 for these losses in Lower Canada was introduced by the Government. The bill paying to the loyal inhabitants of Upper Canada, £40,000 for the damages they had suffered during the Rebellion of 1837 had passed before Lord Elgin came to Canada. This new bill to pay indemnity in Lower Canada was passed by the House, after considerable debate, in the spring of 1849, by a vote of 47 to 18, a very decisive majority for the measure, and among those who voted for it were several English members from Upper Canada. It was believed, apparently, by many of the old U. E. L. in Upper Canada, that Lord Elgin would either veto this bill or refer it to London, but it is apparent that he had no such idea from the start. He had given no one to understand what his course would be, but it is very plain that it would have been suicidal for a Governor to oppose a measure for which a previous law had given a precedent, and in support of which was an overwhelming majority in the House of Assembly, unless there were very serious public reasons for it. The measure was, moreover, politically wise. It was a compromise and a *"quid pro quo"* affair, and the logic behind it may be stated in this way: Upper Canada has been given indemnity for her losses; now it is only fair that Lower Canada should get the same. The obvious retort that Upper Canada was loyal and

Elgin regarded it as a logical measure

Lower Canada was not, is hardly convincing; at least it is a too radical statement. Undoubtedly there were loyal Lower Canadians whose property had been damaged in the rebellion, and while the amount may not have been large, that was a question which the legislature itself had to pass upon.

RIOTING IN MONTREAL

Elgin signs the bill

In spite of the patent logic behind the passage of this bill, the British element in Montreal was not to be consoled. When, on the afternoon of April 25, Lord Elgin went to the House of Parliament to sign the bills that had been passed, he found an excited public feeling, whose significance could not be misunderstood. When the clerk read out that the Rebellion Losses bills had received the royal approval, an uproar arose in the room. There was shuffling of feet, groans, and a hasty exit of a large number of the spectators. These and the crowd outside the building began to vent their displeasure in yells and hoots.

The Governor-General insulted

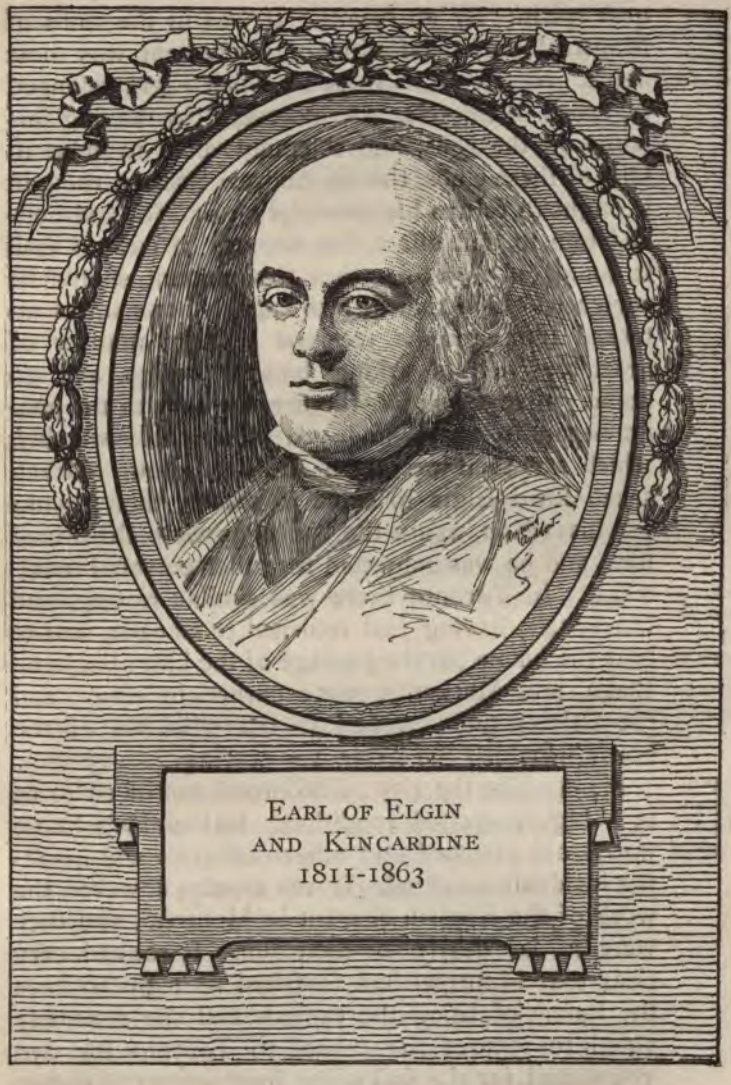
About six o'clock, when Elgin left the Parliament building for home, and entered his carriage, he was attacked by a mob armed chiefly with rotten eggs. The noble earl got one of these eggs in the face, and his horses, carriage, and footmen were likewise decorated. Mud and stones, too, were thrown at him and after him. Yet even at this time no one felt that a serious crisis was at hand. Certainly the Government had no idea of what was about to take place. A mass meeting was called that evening to protest against the passage of the bill, and no attempt was made by the Government to stop this meeting. It was largely attended, and the

Parliament House invaded and burned

mob which composed it rushed directly from the meeting-place to the Parliament, where a night session was being held. Somebody picked up a stone and threw it through one of the windows. His example proved contagious, and within a few seconds the windows of the building were crushed and shattered to pieces. The mob poured into the building and scattered themselves and rushed into all corners of it. The members of the House were apparently panic-stricken by the rush of these desperados, who were disgracing themselves and the British cause by their precipitate action. The House of Assembly was given up to the rioters, and one of them took the Speaker's chair and pounded on the desk with his gavel and announced: "I dissolve the House." In some way, no one can tell how, fire broke out in the building, and within fifteen minutes the structure was beyond rescue. Attempts were made to save it, but those who took part in this attempt almost lost their lives. By eleven o'clock the whole building had been consumed, including two great libraries and a large store of public records. Singularly enough, there was no bloodshed. After the House of Parliament had been consumed, the mob quietly dissolved, and by midnight Montreal was as quiet as if nothing had occurred.

English element in Montreal furious

When morning dawned the Ministry ordered the arrest of four of the riot leaders, and in retaliation the mob broke into the house of Lafontaine, the President of the Ministry, and practically destroyed it. But this, one would think, was merely the act of a mob; certainly the better class of British in Montreal would rebuke such manifestations of the



EARL OF ELGIN
AND KINCARDINE
1811-1863

Elgin's name dropped from clubs

mob spirit. By no means. It was in the clubs of Montreal that the feeling of resentment was most fierce. Nearly all of these to which Elgin belonged regarded themselves as disgraced by having his name on the rolls, and solemnly voted to erase it. One of these clubs, the St. Andrew Society, thought it ought to return his subscription of £10, and notified him to that effect, but because of lack of cash it could only promise that this amount should be returned! The radical pro-English newspapers attacked him, and he received a large number of gratuitous letters asking him to resign and go home. Five days after the fire, the fury of the public began to abate, and yet, when the Assembly, which was then meeting in the Beauséjour Market, asked Lord Elgin to come to receive their thanks for his action, again the bad eggs were thrown at him, and he was subjected to rather personal indig-

Mackenzie somehow held responsible

nities. In Toronto there was similar rioting, and Mackenzie, having just returned to Canada, had to bear the blame for the passage of the bill. Baldwin, Blake, and Mackenzie were burned in effigy, and the British mob crashed in the windows of the house in which the latter was staying.

Montreal punished by losing the capital

Meanwhile, the city of Montreal continued to be in a highly excited condition. Lafontaine's house was again attacked and other outbursts and insulting incidents occurred. It was mostly, however, the work of the English element in Montreal, and they were to pay dearly for their fun. It seemed very clear that Montreal had forfeited its right to have the honor of being the capital, and the Assembly voted to remove the capital to Toronto for two years, and for the following four years to Quebec.

Just why they should go from the partly English city of Montreal to the wholly English city of Toronto, one can not understand except by the implication that the Toronto people would be too careful of their own interests to spoil any chance they might have for holding the capital permanently by any act of rebellion. It was supposed by many of the ultra British element that this outbreak would seal Elgin's fate in North America, but here is where his relationship stood him in good stead. He resigned, but the Ministry backed him firmly, and this gave him such prestige as to make it apparently impossible to remove him. It is a sad commentary upon the unwisdom of British colonial administration from London, that if it had not been for this relationship, Elgin would probably have suffered the fate of many other Governors-General from Canada, whose Government repudiated them and deserted them just at the moment when they most needed its cordial support.

Elgin resigns, but is told to stay

The news of the rioting in Montreal came as a great shock to the English public, who had assumed that with the union of the Provinces and the control of affairs in the hands of the English party, all the troubles would be at an end. They certainly were astonished to find that the rioters were English, and that the centre of attack was not the French members, but the English Governor-General. There is little doubt that the measure was an equitable one and ought to have been signed, but there is also little doubt that a great many of the beneficiaries of the bill were not, to put it mildly, conspicuous for their loyalty. The fact, however, that over half of the English members of the Assembly

The measure an equitable one

from Upper Canada voted for the bill is pretty ample evidence that it was fair. A singular psychological phenomenon as an aftermath of the rioting and the approval of Lord Elgin's course by the British Parliament and Ministry was the agitation on the part of the Tories of Montreal for annexation to the United States. The burlesque aspect of this annexation movement, which they had so violently denounced when urged by other factions, was wholly lost on these altogether too serious men. The agitation, however, was largely confined to Montreal, although for a time it made some headway in the parts of Upper Canada recently settled, but not in sections where the U. E. L. were dominant. A monster memorial was drawn up, to which large numbers in Montreal subscribed, among them being some office-holders, who forthwith lost their positions as the result. This delirium soon passed away, however, and since that time there has been no such anomaly as Canada's Tories asking for annexation to the United States.

Tories actually ask annexation

If this measure produced a difference of opinion among the Conservatives, it did more for the Reformers. A large percentage of that party was opposed to the Rebellion Losses bill, and resented the intrusion of this measure, although they did not actively crusade against it; but when the dominant faction pressed for other measures along the same line, the soberer element balked, and the result was a split. The radical faction became known as the Radicals, but about that time was given another name by the Toronto "Globe," the "Clear Grit Party," shortened to "Grits," which the Liberals to some extent bear to-day. In the French Province this element was

The Reformers split over the question

called "Le Parti Rouge." The result of this warfare was the split in the Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry, as the result of which Baldwin resigned, and the Ministry was reorganized, with Hincks and Morin as leaders. This took place in October, 1850. In the general election which followed the reconstruction of the Cabinet, Baldwin, such is the irony of politics, was defeated, and our old friend, William Lyon Mackenzie, reentered public life, being elected from the County of Haldimand. The Radicals still remained in control of the Assembly by a small majority, but it was evident that in the critical condition of affairs their tenure was short.

Mackenzie again in Parliament

CANADA BECOMING A NATION

CANADA was beginning about this time to lose her violent and hurtful interest in politics to the exclusion of everything else. She was beginning to agitate for tangible needs. Having at last attained a responsible government, which she had been seeking since the Conquest, she was able to go ahead and really achieve something worth a national existence. We thus see, about the middle of the nineteenth century, the beginning of industrial strength coeval with political peace. The only substantial commercial works of large importance hitherto were the Welland Canal and a few other canals in Upper Canada. Now began the organization of the Grand Trunk Railway, which, in its development, changed the face of Canada. Francis Hincks went to England to secure sufficient capital and backing for the road, and in 1852 the bill for the incorporation of the Grand Trunk Railway was introduced into the Canadian Legislature. The bonds of the company

The Grand Trunk Railway begun

Government aid for railway building

received the guarantee of the Province to the extent of $15,000 a mile, which was certainly, even in those times, a very liberal backing. It was also agreed that for every $500,000 actually spent on the railway, $200,000 should be guaranteed by the Province. By this act more than $16,000,000 was in a few years added to the permanent debt of the country. This was what we should call to-day nationalization of a public service corporation to a large extent, a backing and guarantee of partnership in such enterprises which is common enough in British countries, but singularly enough has never seemed to be proper in the United States. Individual enterprise has carried through nearly all of the great public works of the United States, while in Canada to-day, as in 1850, the Government's partnership or sponsorship for the great public service corporations has been pronounced, and seems likely to be continuous.

The success of this Grand Trunk Railway undertaking encouraged Mr. Hincks to propose an act to establish a consolidated municipal loan for Upper Canada, and later for Lower Canada. This was a peculiar measure, in that it bound the Province to assist municipalities in engaging in any public works, such as railways, roads, or bridges. In this way the municipalities of Canada became feverishly ambitious, and contracted debts to the Province which they never could pay. It was a species of wildcatism, which was singularly out of place in a country whose banks and general financial system were so firmly established. The extent of this may be seen from the fact that in the session of 1853 twenty-eight railway bills were passed and became

Over-development of industries

law. At this same session the Parliament Representation Act increased the membership of the Assembly from 84 to 130, 65 in each Province, and changed the boundaries of the various districts. Montreal and Quebec were to return three members each and Toronto two. The Representation Act

THE CLERGY RESERVES SETTLED AT LAST

IT was this same year, 1853, that there was ordered an end to the quarrel over the Clergy Reserves, which, we have seen, had been a source of division and disturbance throughout the entire history of the country since the Act of 1791. It is well worth while at this time to present a compact and concise statement of this dispute, which has not been allowed in this work to obtrude itself. In the Constitution, or Act of 1791, more than 2,000,000 acres of land were set apart for the support of the "Protestant Clergy." This wording in the Constitution became the subject of interminable discussions and debates. Who, and what, were the Protestant Clergy? Of course, it was plain that the Roman Catholics could have no rights to this land, and it was generally asserted that the churches and sects which were anti-Roman Catholic, as the word "Protestant" really means, ought to have had a share, but the Church of England claimed for itself the exclusive use of the word "Protestant," and asserted that its ministers were the only "clergy," and consequently that they only should receive this land. This was a radical stand, for the Anglicans were only a small percentage of the non-Catholic Christians of Canada. Bishop Strachan, whose pugnacity and ability were conspicuous in all the The "Protestant Clergy"

church affairs of Upper Canada, led in the fight for the exclusive use of these lands for the Anglican clergy. In 1840 the wrangling had become so rife and disgraceful that the British Parliament enacted that the church lands and clergy reserves, so called, should be sold, that one-third should go to the Church of England, one-sixth to the Church of Scotland, or Presbyterian, and the remaining half to be at the disposal of the Governor-General, to be distributed among the other denominations. This was not a happy settlement. While Bishop Strachan and the Anglicans in general seemed to be terribly hurt because they got only one-third, it was generally felt that they had received far too much. Another source of dissatisfaction was that the settlement was not made by the Canadian Parliament but by the Imperial Parliament, and Canada kept insisting each subsequent year that she herself be allowed to deal with the question.

British Parliament takes a hand, 1840

It was in 1853 that the British Parliament formally allowed Canada to determine the issue, and in 1854, at Quebec, the Canadian Parliament did finally settle it. The settlement itself was a rather ridiculous one, and was wholly opposed to the original idea of the fund. These reserves were ordered turned over to the various municipalities, not parishes, not for religious purposes, but for secular purposes, and a very small proportion of the whole was set aside for those clergymen who, under the settlement of 1840, had seemed to acquire vested rights.

In 1854 turned over to secular purposes

Undoubtedly Dr. Strachan, or Bishop Strachan, as he was at this time, was wholly justified in his anger over this ridiculous ending of the half-

century quarrel. It was shown that, in religious affairs, Canada was following the lead of the United States in deciding that no State aid should be given to any religious body, even though her decision in this affair was contrary to pledges and was really unjust.

Seigniorial tenure abolished

It is significant that about the time when this question of the clergy land was being settled, another and much more important one had its solution; that is, the seigniorial tenure was finally terminated in December, 1854. The law provided that the habitant could buy his land, and in other ways made him a free man. There were very many provisions to the bill, by means of which the proprietary interests of those who still held the seigniories were protected.

RECIPROCITY WITH THE UNITED STATES

Reciprocity or retaliation

ANOTHER great subject which showed how earnest Canada was and how great were her leaps and bounds in national life and national growth was in the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty with the United States. In order to bring this about, various projects had been considered for some time, including the usual one of retaliation, which Hincks had advocated, but which he was unable to put through. However, the demands for freer trade with the United States were becoming so insistent that either reciprocity or retaliation was inevitable. In order that the Canadian leaders might know exactly the temper of Great Britain on the subject, Lord Elgin and Mr. Hincks made a voyage to England in the winter of 1853-54, where sufficient guarantees were given them to enable them to pro-

ceed without any fear of interference from the home Government. So in the spring of 1854 Lord Elgin and Francis Hincks made their visit to Washington and put through this treaty.

Floated through on champagne

We have often been told that Lord Elgin "floated the reciprocity treaty through on champagne." One need not deny that Lord Elgin entertained lavishly, and the well-known picture of the night when some of the Senators, accompanied by the noble Earl, went to another Senator's house and insisted on that Senator getting out of bed and producing some potations for their benefit is an amusing one. A great many stories that are told of those days were undoubtedly the results of the too great reading and believing of Laurence Oliphant's letters. That gifted young man was then, and afterward in Canada and China, Lord Elgin's private secretary, and he showed great fecundity of resource in producing material for his letters. One of these letters describing the signing of the reciprocity treaty in the office of Secretary of State Marcy in Washington

Oliphant's amusing picture

is characteristic: "Lord Elgin reads the treaty aloud. It is checked by the secretaries, and the aged man, Mr. Marcy, listens, while he picks his teeth with a pair of scissors, or cleans out the wick of a candle with their points, which he afterward wipes on his gray hair." The signatures were attached just after midnight and to quote Oliphant: "There is something mysterious and suggestive in the scratching of a midnight pen, for it may be scratching fortunes or ruin to toiling millions. I retire to dream of its [the treaty's] contents and to listen in my troubled sleep to the perpetually recurring refrain of the three impressive words with

which the pregnant document concludes, 'unmanufactured tobacco, rags.' "

The success of the treaty surprised not only the Americans, but the Canadians as well. The treaty provided that both countries should have the same right in coast fisheries. It was agreed that Canada should levy no taxes on Maine lumber passing down the St. John River. Absolutely free trade was granted between the two countries in grain, flour, live stock, meats, lumber, poultry, eggs, hides, ores, hemp, and tobacco. The treaty was to remain in force for ten years, at the expiration of which it might be terminated by either party on twelve months' notice. This convention was undoubtedly the best act of intercourse with the United States that Canada had ever secured. It was a striking change from the old days of bitter enmity, and as long as it remained in operation it was a source of great profit to Canada, and really in those ten years laid the foundation for the prosperity which the country has never ceased to enjoy. Its advantages to the people of the United States were not so generally admitted, and this fact led to its prompt abrogation at the first opportunity. There are other causes which shall be considered in due time.

Provisions of the treaty

CHAPTER XLIX

JOHN A. MACDONALD AND GEORGE BROWN

The Scotch dominant in Canada

IT was during this crisis that two Upper Canada men came into public notice, whose future was to form a very great part in the making of Canadian thought and Canadian leadership, during the greater part of the second half of the nineteenth century. These two men were George Brown and John A. Macdonald. Both of them were Scotchmen, both of them were Protestants. The reader must have noticed how largely the Scotch element has entered into the life of Canada, not only in the governors-general, but also in the leaders of thought among the common people. This is singular in a land whose two chief elements were of English and French descent. William Lyon Mackenzie was a Scotchman, as was also Gourlay, but both of these men were exceptions as regards Scotch temperament, for the Scotch character, as every one knows, is cool, shrewd, and calculating. Just at the time we are now considering, the Scotch element was peculiarly uppermost, for the Governor-General, the Earl of Elgin, was Scotch, Baldwin was Scotch-Irish, John Sandfield Macdonald, as well as John A. Macdonald and George Brown, were Scotch, and it is said that Francis Hincks was of Scotch descent. The chief of these men, however, were,

The Scotch character

SIR JOHN MACDONALD, G.C.B.

Photograph by Notman, Montreal

as we have said, George Brown and John Alexander Macdonald. Both represented U. E. L. constituencies; Brown from Toronto, Macdonald from Kingston. Kingston, as we know, was the first settlement of the United Empire Loyalists, and was more English than the English themselves. The strikingly diverse histories of these men show how remarkably different may be two men of the same general ancestry and representing the same kind of people.

Brown establishes the Toronto "Globe," 1844

George Brown was born in Scotland, and came with his father when a child to New York in 1838. There they engaged in newspaper publishing, his father having established the "British Chronicle" in 1842. But success did not attend their efforts, and in 1843 they moved to Toronto, where they began the publication of the "Banner," a weekly paper, semi-religious in character and largely devoted to the Free Church party, then about to leave the Established Church of Scotland. The next year George Brown, finding that he could not wield the political power he desired in the "Banner," established the Toronto "Globe," which has been ever since one of the leading newspapers of Canada, distinguished for the ability of its editorial page and the enterprise of its general management. Mr. Brown entered into the publication of this paper not only as a political but also as a religious project. That is, his spirit was both religious and political, and he insisted on combining the two impulses. It is an excellent idea and an ideal to be constantly striven for, that one's political means should be religious; for while the Ten Commandments in politics may be "an iridescent dream," yet the proper

A political and religious project

A bitter foe of the Catholic Church

end of all honest politics is to make the state as pure as the church should be. But Mr. Brown was a queer mixture of honest zeal and purblind bigotry, and into the Orange movement, which was rapidly rising in Upper Canada at that time, he threw himself with tremendous enthusiasm. He regarded the Roman Catholic Church as the greatest foe to Canada that could possibly exist, and night and day he waged war against it in whatever form it manifested itself, whether in politics or in religion. There were many events at that time which excited men's minds against the Roman Catholic Church. It was then that the Roman Catholic hierarchy had just been reestablished in England, and the Oxford movement in the Anglican Church, which led to Newman's withdrawal, was beginning to manifest itself. Hence Mr. Brown found plenty of sympathy and support and he honestly believed that he was doing his country and his religion a service by thus entering into the fierce assault upon Roman Catholics and upon French Canadians. From his editorial tripod he discharged thunderbolts daily, and continued these bitter attacks to the dismay of friend as well as foe.

What sort of man was this other Scotchman at the other end of the lake? Very different indeed. John A. Macdonald was a man with whom tact and ambition were everything. He had absolutely no theory of politics or life that did not bring with it success. He was born in Glasgow on January 11, 1815, and with his father came to Canada five years later. His father settled at first at Kingston, and after years of misfortune died there in 1841, when the son was about twenty-six years of age. John A. was the third child, and he had very little

Macdonald self-educated and a man of the people

assistance in making his way through the world. He did not have a college education, which more than likely would have injured him, and began the study of law at the age of fifteen at Kingston. He entered into active practise for himself in 1836 at Kingston when only about twenty-one years of age. The first years of his life, like the first years of the life of Abraham Lincoln, were largely spent in merely getting acquainted with his people. He took some part in suppressing the rebellion which occurred the year after he began the practise of law, and yet he could hardly be said to have had a military record of any value. It is very likely that during these years he simply took what law business he could get. That was very little, but at the same time he came to know his clients and to build in those comparatively idle days the foundation for the political success which has marked him more than any other man in Canadian history up to the present time.

His early life like Lincoln's

His law business at length began to grow, and during the governor-generalship of Sir Charles Metcalfe, Macdonald decided he could afford to stand for Parliament. He had held no other office previously; this was in 1844. He was successful, defeating his opponent by a large majority.

First elected to Parliament, 1844

He had been in Parliament a very short time before he began to make an impression. He sided from the first with the Conservative Party, while George Brown, as we may guess, was a Radical of the Radicals. In 1846 it began to be noised about that Mr. Macdonald would probably have a place in the next Conservative Cabinet. And so it was that in 1847 he entered the Executive Council as Re-

Enters the Ministry in 1847

ceiver-General, an unimportant office, and yet one in which he was to have opportunity to display his abilities. From that time onward he was not without a share in every Conservative Cabinet that was formed. Luckily, he did not take any part in the movement for annexation, in Montreal, which followed the riot over the Rebellion Losses bill. His greatest *coup* came in the latter part of Lord Elgin's administration when the Hincks Cabinet was in power, a Reform Cabinet, but tottering to a fall. George Brown, representing the Clear Grits, had been scoring the Hincks Ministry because of its refusal to settle the clergy reserves and the seigniorial questions, things they had promised for years to settle. There was, of course, dissatisfaction with the Reform Party among some portions of the French-Canadians and when, in 1853, the Government was defeated, it was supposed that George Brown would hold the balance of power in whatever new Cabinet would come into existence. It will be seen that there were, at this time, several political factions; the old Reform Party led by Mr. Hincks; the Clear Grit Party composed of the Radical Reformers of Upper Canada and the Liberal Party of Lower Canada, and the Conservative Party. The defeat of the Reform Party would, under ordinary circumstances, result in the success of the Conservative Party, but the present crisis was not ordinary. Hincks's Ministry was to be thrown out of power because it was not Radical enough. Who, then, should succeed the Hincks Cabinet? Naturally, the more Radical, George Brown. But such was not to be the case. On that point, at least two parties were determined; the Conservatives, of course, be-

The Hincks Cabinet overthrown

Brown not given his due

cause Brown was not of their party; the French Canadians because, while Brown was a Reformer like themselves, he had become hateful to them on account of his bitter attacks on them and their religion. There was only one thing to do, and that was to arrange a coalition of Conservatives and French Canadians, and this was done. But, in order to make the thing complete, some gentlemen satisfactory to the Hincks party were asked to accept places, and the consequence was that the new coalition Cabinet which had been largely brought into power by George Brown and the Clear Grits, contained everybody except George Brown and any of the Clear Grits. It was an anomalous and illogical situation, and could result in nothing permanent, but for the moment it was a surprising and successful tack. Sir Allan MacNab was head of the Council, and other members were Robert Spence, John A. Macdonald, William Cayley and Messrs. Chauveau, Taché, and Chabot, French Canadians. It was under this peculiar Ministry that the two great questions of the clergy reserves and the seigniorial tenure were settled. When these acts were accomplished, Lord Elgin's term expired, and he resigned his position. It was one of the most successful rules that Canada had experienced since the days of Frontenac. It is true that Elgin made enemies by his espousal of popular principles and measures, but in the end he was triumphant over all, and when he left for home he carried with him the high esteem and affection of a vast majority of Canadians.

The first coalition Government

Lord Elgin retires

At a farewell ball given at Spencerwood, the Governor's residence, Lord Elgin made a parting speech which showed his sorrow that the sojourn in Canada

Lord Elgin's beautiful valedictory

was now to end. This address is a masterpiece of eloquence of its kind. He said: "For the last time I welcome you as my guests to this charming residence, which I have been in the habit of calling my home. I did not, I will frankly confess it, know what it would cost me to break this habit, until the period of my departure approached, and I began to feel that the great interests which have so long engrossed my attention and thoughts were passing out of my hands. I had a hint of what my feelings really were upon this point—a pretty broad hint, too—one lovely morning in June last, when I returned to Quebec after my temporary absence in England, and landed in the coves below Spencerwood (because it was Sunday and I did not want to make a disturbance in the town), and when with the greetings of the old people in the coves who put their heads out of the windows as I passed along, and cried, 'Welcome home again,' still ringing in my ears, I mounted the hill, and drove through the avenue to the house door. I saw the drooping trees on the lawn, with every one of which I was so familiar, clothed in the tenderest green of spring, and the river beyond calm and transparent as a mirror, and the ships fixed and motionless as statues on its surface, and the whole landscape bathed in a flood of that bright Canadian sun which so seldom pierces our murky atmosphere on the other side of the Atlantic. I began to think that persons were to be envied who were not forced by the necessities of their position to quit these engrossing interests and lovely scenes for the purpose of proceeding to distant lands; who are able to remain among them until they pass to that quiet corner of the Garden

Memories of his welcome

of Mount Hermon which juts into the river and commands a view of that city. . . . So that through the dim watches of that tranquil night which precedes the dawning of the eternal day, the majestic citadel of Quebec, with its noble train of satellite hills, may be seen to rest forever on the sight, and the low murmur of the waters of the St. Lawrence, with the hum of busy life on their surface, to fall ceaselessly on the air. I can not bring myself to believe that the future has in store for me any interests which will fill the place of those I am now abandoning."

A prophecy

And he was right in this presentiment, for neither in China, nor in India, where is his last resting-place, was he so happy or successful as in Canada.

Hincks soon followed Elgin, accepted knighthood from the Queen, and the position of Governor of the Windward Islands. Years were to pass before he returned to his country.

SIR EDMUND W. HEAD, ELGIN'S SUCCESSOR

LORD ELGIN'S successor was Sir Edmund W. Head. He had been Governor of New Brunswick just before his elevation to the governor-generalship, but previous to that time he had held position as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in England, where he had achieved marked success. The coalition Government now began, naturally enough, to lose its strength. The attacks of George Brown upon it were telling, and it soon appeared that it could not last long. The position of Prime Minister, held by Sir Allan MacNab, was resigned by him, and this was the first indication of the dissolution of the coalition. It has generally been asserted that

MacNab retires

the deposition of Sir Allan was the result of an intrigue led by John A. Macdonald. The latter's friends, and his biographers, vehemently deny this, and print letters to show that Macdonald was wholly loyal to his chief, but there is no doubt, as I have said before, that ambition was the strongest motive Macdonald had, and, while he did not at once succeed MacNab as Prime Minister, that position being given to Mr. Taché, Macdonald became the real Premier soon afterward. It was during the session of 1856 that an act was passed making the Legislative Council elective, permitting the existing members to hold their seats during life, but adding to their number by election, every two years, twelve members, whose term of office was to be eight years. It is not necessary to pay any more attention to this act than this brief mention, because, under the Confederation, the scheme was abandoned and the whole plan of life tenure in the Legislative Council, or Senate, as it has been called since Confederation, was adhered to.

Legislative Council elective

Changes in political parties were imminent. Mr. Taché in the next year, 1857, resigned his premiership, and Mr. Macdonald came to his own. These changes in the Ministry made a dissolution of Parliament and an appeal to the country inevitable, and the campaign which now came on was one of the most exciting and interesting known to Canada. George Brown was, of course, in the thick of the fight. He vehemently attacked the coalition Ministry and allied himself with the Liberal Party in Lower Canada, hoping thus to win the day. But the result was a complete victory for the coalition Ministry and the overwhelming defeat of the Brown or Clear Grit

Macdonald becomes Premier, 1857

party. Brown himself was elected to Parliament, but otherwise his cause was overwhelmed. The striking difference in the verdict of Upper and Lower Canada at this time made it apparent to John A. Macdonald that the double-majority principle which had prevailed up to this time could no longer be entertained. This double-majority principle was the theory, that, when a subject came up that was of peculiar importance to either of the two Provinces, it would not be enacted unless the majority of the representatives from the Province affected voted in favor of it. It was usually easy enough when the subject was not a political one to get this majority, but Macdonald saw in the present situation that such a majority could not be got except by enormous sacrifices, which he was not willing to make. So as long as he had a majority against all his enemies in the Parliament as a whole, he determined to use that majority on all questions without considering who supplied the votes. Strangely enough, this announcement was at once seized upon by his enemies as an evidence of French domination, and he was attacked on all sides. It was really a common-sense idea as Canada was then governed, but the embarassment over the question pointed to the necessity of a division in the Federal system so that the affairs peculiar to each Province should be settled by itself. The value of this question and the embarrassments which it caused became so apparent a few years later as to demand the reform just mentioned, which was one of the most prominent features of the Act of Confederation.

The double-majority principle

A common-sense idea

OTTAWA THE CAPITAL

Selected by the Queen

AMONG the questions that were discussed at this session, and which had been coming up for some time since the burning of the Parliament House at Montreal, was that of a permanent capital. Parliament had had a peripatetic existence, meeting alternately at Quebec and Toronto, but this was not satisfactory. After a long wrangle it was finally decided to leave the question of the new and permanent capital to the Queen. Her selection was the present capital of the Dominion, Ottawa, whose name was changed from the more provincial and less euphonious one of Bytown. This location was an admirable one in some ways. The little town had its existence largely in the attempt by the Canadian Government to find some way of securing communication between Lake Superior and the ocean, other than by way of Lakes Ontario and Erie, which was subject to interference from the United States. This was an aftermath of the War of 1812. Ottawa River and its affluents were selected as the route from the St. Lawrence River to Lake Superior; largely the same route that Champlain followed far back in the seventeenth century. It was necessary to construct a canal from the Ottawa River to Kingston, and it was at the head of this canal that the little town of Bytown, named after Colonel Bytown, the engineer of the project, was built. It contained only about 14,000 people when the Queen made it the capital. It was a lonely place and very remote from the centres of population, but it was not connected with any old wrangles, and was about as accessible to one Province as to the other. When

An aftermath of 1812

this decision was made by the Queen it was not known that by the time of its occupancy as a capital the Government of Canada would be radically changed; that Ottawa was to be the capital of not only the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, but also of a Canada composed of these two Provinces and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Discourtesy to the Queen

It seems incredible that since, by express vote, the Canadian Parliament had given the Queen the power to fix the capital, it should cast any vote reflecting upon her judgment. Certainly there was very little courtesy, not to say loyalty, in the suggestion of a censure of the Government for her decision. But so petty was the spirit of the times that this motion was introduced by the Opposition, and was carried by a majority of fourteen, censuring the Ministry for asking the Queen to make the choice. This, of course, was a defeat for the Government, and Macdonald, the Prime Minister, at once placed his resignation, and that of his colleagues, in the hands of the Governor-General. They were accepted, and George Brown was at once asked to form a new Administration.

Macdonald resigns

Brown's brief premiership

In two days the new Cabinet was in operation. Brown himself was Inspector-General and Prime Minister, and among the other members were John Sandfield Macdonald, Attorney-General for Upper Canada; Oliver Mowat, Provincial Secretary, and A. A. Dorion, Commissioner of Crown Lands. Now came up another political maneuvre, which showed how unstable was the political temper of Canada at that time. No sooner had Brown announced his Ministry than the same House of Assembly which had turned out Macdonald's Cabinet voted, 71 to

Governor-General's arbitrary act

31, that it had no confidence in Mr. Brown's Administration. This backing and filling must have been very disgusting to the Governor-General, or to any other good friend of responsible government, but, of course, he could not take any action. Then the new Cabinet, which had been in power just two days, demanded a dissolution of Parliament that it might ascertain the sense of the country. But the Governor-General would not grant this. He declared that the House had just been elected, and must represent the people, and he could not see why it was necessary to test their sentiment so soon again, when the question which had brought about the change was not an important or fundamental one. So the Brown Cabinet was compelled to resign after a brilliant career of two days. This was a notable occurrence, and one of the landmarks of Canadian history.

Sir Edmund blundered

It is impossible, altogether, to excuse the Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head, for his action in this matter. He was blamed for it throughout the rest of his life, and undoubtedly the blame was just. No one knows what the verdict of the body of voters will be. They may change their mind in a week on great questions, and the opportunity for a new mandate of the people was sufficiently obvious, and the demand for it was clearly enough expressed, and it was his duty to call for another election. His refusal to do so was undoubtedly due to his too great fondness for the Conservative Party, and it gave that party a chance and a prestige from which it derived great power in the future.

"THE DOUBLE SHUFFLE"

THE question now before him and the Assembly was what the new Ministry should be. The Governor-General asked A. T. Galt to form another Cabinet. He was constrained to refuse, and George Cartier of Quebec finally accepted. He selected, practically, all of the members of Macdonald's Ministry. It was presumed, of course, since another Ministry had actually intervened, that, following the custom, these new Ministers would go to their constituents for reelection. But there was a new law providing that a Minister who had resigned from office might, within a month, accept any other office without being compelled to seek reelection. So, Macdonald, who was the real leader, fearing that some of the Ministers would not be reelected if they appealed to their constituents, assigned to them different offices than the ones they had held in his Ministry, alleging that under the provisions of the act this would count as "another office." This was, of course, a political subterfuge; a kind of thing too common in politics, and beneath the dignity which is supposed to belong to the head of the Cabinet. It is unfortunate that Macdonald should have tolerated it. In this case the legality of the act was affirmed by the courts, but the dishonesty of it can not be excused in any court. Immediately after the new Ministry was constituted, Macdonald made another change, by which all members resumed their old positions, and the farce was completely exposed. This was called "the double shuffle," a well-known episode in Canada's political history. Some of the Cabinet were wholly new, and they had

A political trick

Affirmed by the courts

to return to their constituents for reelection, and were successful. Strangely enough, however, Dorion, the Attorney-General of the Brown Cabinet, although in office only two days, had already gone to his constituents for reelection and been defeated. An episode of this year worth chronicling was the death of Robert Baldwin, whose devotion to the cause of genuine reform has given him a name among the real patriots of Canada. All factions and all parties united to honor his memory. It was during this session that Macdonald took action which showed that he had abandoned the double-majority principle. It was a patently unworkable scheme in the days of political parties. Theoretically it was correct; actually, it was impossible.

First hint of Confederation

In the session of the next year, 1859, the Governor-General's speech contained the first intimation that the Imperial Government was considering the consolidation of all the British Provinces of North America. Another important event of this session was the new Customs Act, which, for the first time, stamped Canada as a protectionist country. The success of the United States as a high-tariff nation was in contrast to that of Canada, and owing to the decline of the revenues and the absence of home manufacturers, it was determined to increase the duties on all manufactured products. The general level of duties was raised from 10 to 15 per cent, while a tariff of from 20 to 25 per cent was laid on certain manufactured articles. The free list was left large, and yet the policy was plainly protectionist. Its inauguration is generally ascribed to Mr. Macdonald, and he is clearly entitled to the honor of founding what has become later known in

Canada becomes a protectionist country, 1859

Canada's politics as the National Policy. The new policy was immediately successful. In connection with the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, it placed Canada in a very enviable position in trade and commerce. The public revenue for 1859 increased by over $6,000,000. The imports for the year amounted to $33,000,000, and the exports to $24,000,000. This is a balance on the wrong side, but it was the usual thing in Canada, and not until within the four years preceding 1907 has that balance been on the right side.

Macdonald the founder

George Brown, the irrepressible, being in the minority, and anxious to be in the majority, and mistaking that desire for patriotic impulse, kept up a continuous lamentation on the state of the country. A great convention of Reformers met in 1859, demanding a return to the double-majority principle, and protesting against the domination of Lower Canada. Some of the demands which they made, as, for example, that membership in the Assembly should be in proportion to population, were obviously right, and in time became accepted. But, just then, Brown and his faction were in bad odor, and anything they wanted the country was sure to refuse. The next year he brought these demands before the Parliament, and they were defeated one by one.

The Reformers' convention of 1859

THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

THE previous year Parliament had invited Queen Victoria to make a visit to Canada. She replied that this was impossible, but that she was happy to announce that her son, the Prince of Wales, would come in her stead. Accordingly, on July 21, 1860,

He lands at Quebec, July 21, 1860

The Prince's visit arouses great enthusiasm

he landed at Quebec, which was still the capital, and was received in state. The entire country was aroused to great, loyal enthusiasm by this visit. The young Prince was then, as now, a tactful, gracious, and agreeable person, and the sight of the person representing one's country, which always thrills any patriot with emotion, was especially felt in Canada, where no heir to the throne had ever been seen before. After the festivities at Quebec, the Prince visited Montreal, where the same rejoicings were seen. Then he proceeded to Ottawa, and on the 1st of September he laid the foundation of the new Parliament building, and afterward shot the timber slides of the Chaudière on the ordinary lumbermen's crib. From this point he started down the canal to Kingston, but he did not land there. It must have smitten sore the hearts of the Loyalists of that neighborhood to find that this, the most loyal of all British-American towns, was to be neglected by the heir to the throne.

Orange societies make trouble

The reason for the Prince's neglect to visit Kingston, or Belleville, was that the Orange Society of those neighborhoods insisted on receiving him with their insignia and other emblems of their order. This was distasteful to the Prince, probably because he had been instructed to be careful to give no offense to Lower Canada; but it was particularly repugnant to the Duke of Newcastle, who had been entrusted by the Queen with the sole control of all the arrangements for the Prince during this tour. John A. Macdonald, the Ministerial leader, was very much opposed to this decision of the Duke; so much so that he refused to go to Toronto, or to take any part in the reception of the Prince, although he was

urged very warmly to do so by his colleagues in the Ministry. In spite of this fact, however, he was everwhelmingly berated by George Brown and the Toronto "Globe" as responsible for the Duke's decision, and they declared that this was only one more evidence of Mr. Macdonald's complete submission to the Church of Rome. John A. Macdonald had plenty of sins to answer for; that was not one of them. At Toronto the Prince refused to pass under an Orange triumphal arch. The aftermath of this affair was that the Duke and the Governor-General were burned in effigy at Toronto. There were no other unpleasant demonstrations, and the Prince, having gradually proceeded to the westernmost part of Canada, crossed the river at Windsor to Detroit, and made a tour of the chief cities of the north of the United States, where he was received with general and cordial welcome. The one unpleasant incident in this American tour was an insult to him at Richmond by members of the slavery party.

The Duke and Head burned in effigy

PRECURSORS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

AN incident in December of this year, 1860, which stirred up feeling in Canada, concerned a fugitive slave named Anderson, who arrived in Canada, after having killed a man in Missouri while escaping from bondage seven years before. He was recognized in Canada, and application was made for his extradition. The matter went to the courts, until the decision was rendered that he must be extradited; but higher courts were invoked, and finally he was set free on the ground of informality in his warrant of committal. Both sides became greatly agitated during these court proceedings, and

Anderson, the fugitive slave

The South enraged at Anderson's release

the South was very much enraged at the release of Anderson. The election, which had just been held in the United States, had shown a victory for the Republican Party, led by Abraham Lincoln. This brought on, as every one knows, the Civil War, which was as closely watched in Canada as it was in the United States. The sympathy of Canada was overwhelmingly with the North at the beginning of the struggle, largely because of the hatred of the institution of slavery. But, as time wore on, the feelings changed, largely because of the Trent case and similar affairs, because of the insolent tone of the American press, and because of the attitude of the British Government, which seemed to be pro-Confederacy. Mr. E. W. Thomson, publicist and litterateur, says that in the beginning of the struggle he was in school in Ontario, and the boys used to separate into sides at recess and fight it out—the North against the South. At first the preponderance of the North was heavy, but as times went on, the two sides became more nearly equal, and toward the latter part of the war there were very few left to represent the North. In Mr. Thomson's school there was conspicuously one less than there was in the beginning, for he, a youth of eighteen, enlisted in the Union army at the beginning of 1865, serving through the Richmond campaign with Grant.

Shifting sentiment in Canada

CHAPTER L

PREPARING FOR CONFEDERATION

DURING all these stormy days in the United States, there was a civil war in Canada, too, the same dreary contest which had been going on ever since the Conquest, but which was an essential struggle preliminary to the evolution of Responsible Government and a measure of stable and free administration. It was beginning to be plainly seen that some other way than the present one would have to be devised for the effective control of affairs. A deadlock was inevitable with a government consisting of two states, each with the same number of representatives in the popular Assembly. The difficulty came, as we have very plainly seen, in the fact that all the affairs of the local government of each Province were conducted by the Parliament, and not by a local legislature. This situation made harmony impossible, and quarreling perpetual. All the changes of government from the time of the Union until 1867 were simply variations of this inevitable warfare. It never, of course, came to a direct clash between the two Provinces, but at bottom it was that. For example, a government composed of Reformers from Upper Canada, would unite with Reformers from Lower Canada, and the result would be a government which would go along

Civil war in Canada

A deadlock always possible

for a while until the Ministry would pass an act which was more favorable to one Province than it was to the other, and a sufficient number of representatives of the offended Province would bolt the Ministry, to accomplish its downfall. So on through all the variations of the Ministries, which went almost in the form of a kaleidoscope without any of the usual brilliant colors. There could be no relief from this condition, this deadlock, under the present system, so an expedient was sought in a very transparent and obvious device. It was plain that neither side in this quarrel would budge, so it was necessary to have another party to settle the fight. That party might in some cases be called a referee or an umpire, but as the Crown was a little fearful to act as an umpire in this case, it was thought best to summon a third party to be a permanent umpire, or rather, to be the balance of power. Now, the only parties nearby that could be summoned were the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. It was plain that it would not do to ask one without asking the others, and so a general invitation was extended to all these Provinces, which had been up to this time independent, and bickering, and unhappy, to come into a union. It took several years for this invitation to be acted upon, and, in the mean time, conditions in Canada became more and more complex.

The need of a referee

The census of 1861 shows Upper Canada greater in population

The census of 1861 was one of very great interest to Canada. It showed that in the two divisions, or two Provinces, there were 2,506,755 people, out of which Lower Canada contained 1,110,444, and Upper Canada 1,396,091, an excess of the English

Province over the French of one-quarter of a million people. Inasmuch as when the Union was formed twenty years before, Upper Canada had 465,375 and Lower Canada 690,782, it was very plain that the foresight of the Earl of Durham was justified, in his judgment that in a very short time the English Province would exceed the French in strength and population. It is only fair to say, at this point, moreover, that the scheme for a sort of union of all the British Provinces of North America was a part, and an important part, in the recommendations of that great report which Durham made to Parliament on his return to England after his term as Governor-General. His recommendations of union were disregarded at that time, but the suggestion itself had lain fallow in men's minds, only to ripen into a rich harvest in the twenty-five years after his death. It was Lord Durham, and not Sir Alexander Galt, or George Brown, who was the real father of Confederation, and this is the view which Canadians of to-day with longer vision and clearer view are beginning to take.

Durham's foresight

LORD MONCK'S LONG TERM BEGINS

THE term of Sir Edmund Head as Governor-General came to a close in October, 1861, and on the 24th of that month his successor, Lord Monck, was sworn in at Quebec. Sir Edmund Head at once returned to England. It is impossible to fix a fair judgment upon the value of Head's service. Like the other Governors-General of Canada during this period, he was confronted with impossible circumstances, and like most of them he chose his party and men, and was a Governor-General of that fac-

Head was allied to a faction

Head not conspicuously successful

tion, and not of the whole country. Whether it is possible that he could have been a Governor-General of the whole country, one can not say. At any rate, his career was not conspicuously successful, nor did he leave any great monument such as Elgin did in the Reciprocity Treaty, by which his period could be remembered with gratitude.

The new Governor-General, Charles Stanley Monck, was an Irishman, born in the county of Tipperary in 1819. He had been a barrister in Dublin, but after succeeding to the viscountcy he had taken no part in public life until he was elected to Parliament for Portsmouth in 1852. A few years later he was appointed a Lord of the Treasury, and held that place when he was selected for the Canadian post. The first vexing question which confronted him, after his arrival in Canada, was what is called in England and Canada the "Trent affair," and in American history the Mason and Slidell case. Two Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, were on their way to England on the British mail steamer "Trent," which had proceeded from Vera Cruz and was on the high seas, bound for Southampton, when the United States steamship "Jacinto" overhauled her, and against the protest of her captain removed the commissioners from the "Trent" and brought them to an American port. This action was received with almost unanimous enthusiasm by the people of the North of the United States. They regarded the action of Great Britain in permitting the Confederate commissioners to take passage on their ship as unfriendly to the United States, and Captain Wilkes, who commanded the "Jacinto," was held up as a hero throughout the

The "Trent affair"

United States; fully as much so, and as unreasonably so as the French Minister, Genet, was regarded during the Administration of Washington. The British press and Government denounced this action of Wilkes as a high-handed outrage, and demanded that his prisoners be given up at once. The people of the North were infuriated by this demand of Great Britain, and they were perfectly ready to stand by the Government in holding Mason and Slidell, and declaring war against Great Britain, if necessary. Most of the President's Cabinet took the same view, and war between the United States and Great Britain, which would, of course, involve Canada, seemed more certain than it had since 1815.

The Union men in the United States jubilant

But there was one man who had not yet been reckoned with. That was the awkward, ungainly, ridiculed Abraham Lincoln. He saw what the wise men of his Cabinet could not see—that Wilkes's act had put the United States in the wrong, at a time when the United States could not afford, under any circumstances, to be in the wrong. So, against the wishes of the people of the whole North and of almost his entire Cabinet, he made his will appear and ordered that Mason and Slidell be given up to the British authorities. In doing this (according to Seward and other leaders of his party), he let go a magnificent opportunity to chastise England, to humiliate her, and to secure foreign aid in putting down the American rebellion; but the wisdom of Lincoln in taking this step, perilous to his popularity as it was, is so manifest to-day that we have almost lost sight of it and of the courage of the act as well. But this avowal of Lincoln could not

President Lincoln stems the popular tide

undo the harm that had been done to the cause of the North in Canada, and, from that time on, sympathy with the North dwindled.

War talk starts ardor for militia

This "Trent" affair and the war talk, of course, stirred up the people of Canada to the necessity of defending their borders, and it was in the consideration of a bill for increasing and strengthening the militia of Canada that the old lines of battle between the two Provinces were again laid down plainly. For some time the Ministry had been able to conduct affairs, by having Lower Canada, and the minority of Upper Canada, almost solidly behind it. This plainly ignored the double-majority principle, and was a source of constant criticism on the part of the opposition. It was only a question of time, however, on some sort of measure, when either the little minority of Upper Canada, or a part of the majority from Lower Canada, would desert the Government. When it came to passing a militia bill, a large portion of the people of Lower Canada balked, as they had always done on this question. Their representatives were compelled to go the same way, deserted the Ministry on a test vote on that bill, and the Ministry fell, May 20, 1862. The Ministry had been composed, as we remember, of various parties, and its two leaders were George E. Cartier, Attorney-General for Lower Canada, and John A. Macdonald, Attorney-General for Upper Canada. In the new Cabinet, which was instantly formed, according to the custom which had been followed for some time, were some of the members of the defeated Cabinet. The very possibility of such an absurd arrangement as that shows into what a ludicrous and incoherent condition affairs

Lower Canada balks and Ministry is beaten

HON. GEORGE BROWN

had fallen. The new Cabinet was formed by John Sandfield Macdonald, Attorney-General for Upper Canada, and L. V. Sicotte, Attorney-General for Lower Canada. Sicotte had been a member of the previous Cabinet. The new Government had no more chance for success than the old had, since it was merely a compromise affair without any principle behind it; but some of its declarations were rather popular, including one in favor of tariff revision, lower public expenses, and a less rigid militia law. Moreover, the Conservative Party seemed willing to take a rest for a while and let the new party have a chance. Not so with Mr. Brown, the vitriolic editor of the Toronto "Globe," who, just as the famous character in Dickens saw the head of Charles I in everything, detected the Church of Rome in every Canadian political combination, and alleged that the new Administration was governed by the French as much as the old had been. This charge of Mr. Brown's certainly must have lost some of its force when men remembered that in his two days' Cabinet he had had more Roman Catholic members than any other Cabinet had ever had before. However, Mr. Brown was nothing if not interesting, and his attacks upon the Ministry got to be a sort of inevitable feature in Canadian affairs. England was very sore over the downfall of the Macdonald-Cartier Administration on the militia bill, feeling that Canada had shown that she was not loyal, and her Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, in a public address, practically said that Canada could shift for herself from now on. But, as a matter of fact, the defenseless condition of Canada was one of the substantial arguments which pre-

An odd political combination

Palmerston weary of Canada

vented Great Britain from taking the side of the South during the war.

Separate schools

The new Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry was not free from troubles. It soon brought forward a separate school bill.[1] which secured the antagonism of the Orangemen and their sympathizers in Upper Canada. This bill, however, was carried through, among those who supported it most vigorously being John A. Macdonald. On this measure the Ministry was deserted by some of its supporters in Upper Canada, and John A. Macdonald, although he had voted with the Ministry on this question, proceeded to take advantage of the situation by moving a vote of want of confidence in the Ministry. This was the usual politician's trick, and it succeeded. The Ministry was defeated by a majority of five, on May 1, 1863, and appealed to the country. During the preparation for the general election, John Sandfield Macdonald reconstructed his Cabinet to suit himself, and to mollify the Reformers of Upper Canada. Among those whom he set aside from his new Ministry was his former colleague and partner in the Premiership, Mr. Sicotte. But by this maneuvre he succeeded in winning the election, and on the first division in the new Assembly, which met on August 13th, he carried the debate on the address by a majority of three. The new Ministry held on throughout the session, which ended on October 15th; but when the next one began, on February 19th, conditions had so changed that it was evident that it could not long exist. One of the

J. S. Macdonald carries the country

[1] This permitted, in effect, the Roman Catholics to have public schools separate from the other public schools, but supported by Catholic taxation only.

new members of the Cabinet had been defeated for election and some of the Ministers withdrew, and it was impossible to secure others of any importance to take their places. So, on the 14th of March, without an adverse vote having been recorded against them, but in view of all the threatening circumstances, the Ministry resigned. Sir E. P. Taché, the Lower Canada Conservative, was again induced to undertake the formation of a new Cabinet. It contained most of the old members of the Cartier-Macdonald Cabinet, including both Mr. Cartier and John A. Macdonald, and did not promise to have any more strength than the late Cabinet had. On the first vote of non-confidence, it was victorious by the narrow vote of 64 to 62.

Ministry resigns and Taché forms another

The farce was about played out, and everybody came to see that no progress at all could be made in a country whose government shifted about with almost every change of the moon. So it was that the arguments in favor of Confederation, which had been urged throughout these years, became so overwhelming that it was found absolutely necessary to push that project to the front. But even that could not be done except by some sort of union of the most discordant elements in Canada. If the two most bitter political enemies in Canada, Macdonald and Brown, could be got together in the same Cabinet, it would be possible, for a time at least, to conduct affairs to the point of bringing about the only solution of the difficulty which seemed possible. It was a very critical moment in Canadian affairs; much more critical than people realized. As we have seen, Britain had almost washed her hands of Canada, and with that abandonment, and her inability to

A crisis at hand

concoct any stable government of her own, it was patent that the only alternative was annexation by the United States. Had it not been for the Civil War, which was then at its height, and the bitter feelings engendered between the two countries, annexation might have resulted; but these neighbors were not friends, and so annexation did not come. Would it come?

George Brown in the reconstructed Cabinet, 1864

Whether Brown, on being asked to join the Ministry, as a last resort, accepted the proposition as an act of patriotism, or because of his thirst for power, it is impossible to know. Let us be generous and give him credit for the former impulse. He was in a position, certainly, to fix his own terms, and he was allowed to fill three seats in the Cabinet. He became President of the Council, and he had William Macdougall made Provincial Secretary, and Oliver Mowat Postmaster-General. This consolidation and coalition was effected on June 30, 1864, and was supposed to heal all wounds for the time being. But Macdougall had his troubles from the start. As a new member of the Government, it was necessary, of course, for him to receive the approval of his constituents, and his seat was contested by Matthew Crooks Cameron. A great deal of bitter factionalism entered into this contest. It was charged by Brown's friends that Macdonald connived at Macdougall's defeat. Indeed, Macdonald received many letters from his friends in Macdougall's riding, North Ontario, asking him if he really wished Macdougall elected, to which he promptly replied that he did. So confused, however, was the situation that Macdougall was defeated by 100 votes. A seat was found for him, however, in another constitu-

Bitter factionalism

ency, and the new Government went on its way with a fair promise of success.

It would seem that the scene of the American Civil War was far enough distant from Canada to prevent any active warfare from reaching the Province, but two incidents that very year showed intense feeling. In September two American steamboats on Lake Erie were seized by some Confederates who had escaped to Canada. Their design was to release a number of Southern prisoners confined on Johnson's Island. This attempt failed, but the event caused great excitement in both countries. Another band of refugees crossed the border from Quebec into Vermont and shot an American citizen of St. Albans, and robbed the banks of $250,000. The Canadian authorities arrested some of this band and confined them in a jail in Montreal, but refused to surrender them to the United States authorities when a demand was made for their extradition. This greatly angered the American people and increased bad feeling on both sides.

Confederates make trouble in Canada

THE CONFEDERATION CONVENTION

MEANWHILE, the organization of the compromise Cabinet was pressing forward the movement toward Confederation. The Maritime Provinces were considering the question of union among themselves, and called a conference at Charlottetown, September 1, 1864. Hearing of this, the Canadian Government asked to be allowed to send delegates, and six men, J. A. Macdonald, Brown, Galt, Macdougall, Cartier, and McGee, attended. They proposed, instead of merely a Maritime union, Confederation of

The Charlottetown conference, Sept. 1, 1864

Quebec Conference, Oct. 10-28, votes for union

all the Provinces. Nothing could be done then, but the beginning of the Confederation was there made. The Governor-General then took the lead by inviting the representatives of all the British Provinces to meet at Quebec, and on the 10th of October, 1864, thirty-three men from these various Provinces assembled there and deliberated until the 28th of that month. It was a secret conference, but we know that Sir E. P. Taché was Chairman, and we know that the famous Seventy-Two Resolutions, proposed by Mr. Macdonald, to the effect that Federal Union of these Provinces was desirable, were passed. The question as to the basis upon which the representation of the various Provinces should be made was not settled. In fact, very little was done beyond the passage of these resolutions. This, however, was a great step in advance, and it occurred about the time when it was seen to be impossible to secure any friendly treatment from the United States. A delegation had gone from the Canadian Parliament to Washington to secure an extension of the Reciprocity Treaty, but it arrived there about the time of the raid on Vermont, and its members were treated with cool contempt by the American officials, who now foresaw the victory of the North in the war. Reciprocity being rejected by the United States, federation was the only alternative. When Parliament met on January 19th, 1865, the Governor-General alluded to the proposition for Confederation. The debate on the address was protracted and wearisome, but on the twelfth paragraph of the Resolutions, which asserted the desirability of the union, the vote stood 70 for and 17 against, and the address as a whole was concurred in on

The United States rejects reciprocity

Parliament votes for union

January 23d, with about the same figures. This settled the question, so far as Canada was concerned, and this was really the only vote that Canada ever took on it. It was a very welcome relief, after all the years of turbulence and confusion, to find that the Parliament had at last substantially united on some alternative scheme. It is entirely possible that, had the question been submitted to the Province of Lower Canada, she would have voted against it, for with this scheme went logically the preponderance of the English element. Some of the leaders in Lower Canada saw this and vehemently protested against the procedure, and demanded a plebiscite, but no general agitation resulted.

No plebiscite taken

So, in the spring of 1865, when the surrender at Appomattox was closing the Civil War in the United States, and that nation was entering upon a new era, at that very time the country to the north was also about to enter upon a new era. The project, before the adjournment of the Canadian Assembly, received a cold douche in the vote of New Brunswick on the proposition. It was submitted to the people there, and was defeated by a very large majority. This did not discourage the Canadians, except that they knew it would have a bad influence over the other Maritime Provinces, but they continued to make preparations for a confederation by sending a delegation to England to confer upon that subject and several others. This delegation consisted of Messrs. John A. Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, and Galt. It was not a very harmonious party, but they kept together fairly well, and received assurance from the Imperial Ministry that the scheme was welcome, and that the Government

New Brunswick votes against union

Delegation goes to London

would use its influence toward securing the assent of the Maritime Provinces to it. It was while on this trip abroad that Mr. Macdonald received the degree of D.C.L. from Oxford.

Taché dies and Belleau becomes Premier

Soon after the return of this delegation, Sir E. P. Taché, the Premier, died, and Lord Monck asked John A. Macdonald to form a new Cabinet. The latter at once communicated with George Brown the wish of the Governor-General. Naturally, Brown at once objected to Macdonald's becoming Premier, and when Macdonald reported this fact to the Governor-General he recommended that in place of himself Cartier be chosen. This shows the spirit of compromise on the part of Macdonald, which reflects great credit upon him. Brown refused to serve under Cartier, and it was at length decided that the premiership should be given to Sir Narcissus Belleau. He was a Moderate, and Brown accepted office under him.

Striving to renew reciprocity

The subject of the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States became a burning issue. It had been ten years since the treaty's enactment for the period of ten years, and its advantages to Canada were so obvious that the country felt it must use all possible endeavors to secure the renewal. The United States, however, had shown itself very unwilling to take up the question at all, and this attitude made the proposition almost hopeless. But the Ministry was persistent in driving at something, and it was voted to send a deputation to Washington to find out what could be done. Mr. Brown strongly objected to the sending of this deputation, arguing that it put Canada in the position of a suppliant, and would do no good. His position

was a sound one, but was probably not endorsed by the country as a whole, so anxious was every one to get the treaty renewed, by any means. Because his wishes were overruled in this contest, Mr. Brown resigned his seat in the Cabinet, professing, however, entire friendship for the coalition and promising to make no disturbance for it. He was succeeded by Ferguson Blair. Undoubtedly, the United States did not fully realize what the abandonment of this treaty would mean, either to Canada or to itself. There is no doubt that the manifest purpose on the part of some members of the American Administration was to cripple Canada and force her into annexation to the United States. At the same time, large manufacturers in New York and New England were sure to be severely injured by the removal of the free raw material, which they had enjoyed from Canada for the past decade. A commerce of $70,000,000 per annum had sprung up between the two countries, and it was a long time before trade adjusted itself to the new conditions. Canada's politicians affect to believe that the abrogation of this treaty injured Canada less than it did the United States. This is hardly possible, however, but undoubtedly Canada recovered from the set-back in time.

George Brown resigns

Reciprocity's defeat hurts both countries

These were the days of the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, and it was under his Administration that the notorious Fenian raids into Canada occurred. The responsibility of the United States for these raids is clear, and undoubtedly had any other man been President they would not have been permitted five days. The members of this organization, the Fenian Brotherhood, were largely Irishmen who had

The Fenians in the United States

fought in the Civil War and wished to make as much trouble for England on the American continent as possible. They, therefore, organized expeditions into Canada. The first one was to have been started on St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1866, but amounted to nothing. Canada's Government had called for volunteers, and 10,000 men had come forward. They were not needed and were disbanded, but the Fenians had not given up, and along in the summer they began their offensive movements. What they could possibly hope to gain by this sort of predatory excursion it is difficult to understand. All they could do was to harass and irritate the Canadians, and that would only bring out the loyalty of the people. In all these affairs, the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty and the Fenian raids, the inspiring motive was to strike at England through Canada. Canada had done nothing to deserve such treatment, but because she was a British colony she must suffer for the sins of the mother country. These sins were the comfort and aid which England had given the South during the war. It was a great sin and deserved severe punishment, but it was wrong to blame Canada for it.

Canada calls for volunteers

The most formidable of these raids began on the 1st of June, when a body of 1,200 men, under the command of General O'Neil, crossed from Buffalo to Upper Canada and established themselves. They took possession of the ruins of Fort Erie and of the railway depot. These were active movements, but nothing was really done. The Canadian authorities were alert, and at once a corps, called the Queen's Own, from Toronto, largely composed of college students and other young men, commanded by Lieu-

Raids into Canada, June 1, 1865

tenant-Colonel Booker, started to evict the Fenians. Another company of 1,800 troops, under Colonel Peacock, also took post two miles away near Niagara Falls. For some reason, no communication was established between these two Canadian forces, and on the 2d of June, Booker happened to come upon the O'Neil outpost. Instead of falling back and communicating with Peacock, he gave battle. The result was that a spirited encounter ensued for a few minutes, and the Canadians lost one officer and six men killed, and four officers and nineteen men wounded. This put a stop to the Fenian raid, however, for O'Neil saw at once that it was impossible to make any headway. His men also began to desert, and when a large company of reenforcements started from Buffalo, he sent word to them to return, and he himself got back as soon as possible. Nearly the whole force was intercepted by American authorities, and a large number arrested. Some of them also were captured by the Canadians. Attempts were also made at Ogdensburg, Malone, and St. Albans, but, although as many as 5,000 Fenians were congregated on the border of the Eastern townships, they were quickly dispersed, and a great many of them arrested by the American authorities, who had finally received instructions to put an end to this nonsense. The actual damage done to property and lives by this raid into Canada was inconsiderable, but the expense was very great, 40,000 volunteers were recruited, and a large number of boats and other equipment were necessary.

An encounter that broke up the invasion

Petty raids, but expensive to Canada

This year, 1866, is noteworthy in that the first Parliament of Canada was held at Ottawa in the

The first Parliament at Ottawa, June 8, 1866

new buildings. The session began on the 8th of June and contained little that was of particular interest, except that the Governor-General advised that steps be taken to replace the American trade with that of the West Indies and Brazil. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended for one year in order that the Fenians arrested might be dealt with promptly. A new tariff was introduced, necessitated by the new commercial conditions. It raised the duty on most import goods five per cent, leaving the maximum rate fifteen per cent. It enlarged the free list and increased the tax on whisky. Resolutions, embodying the plan of government for the new Confederation, were introduced, discussed, and passed by Parliament at this session. Some fools in the American Congress thereupon introduced a bill to admit British North America into the United States as four States. This bill, however, never had any standing, and no attention was ever paid to it. An echo of the old fight over separate schools, and a forecast of other battles to follow on the same subject, came during this affair, when Mr. Galt resigned because the separate-school bill, which would give larger rights to the Protestant minority in Lower Canada, whom he represented with conspicuous ability, failed to pass.

Another great fire

It was during this year that another of those terrible fires at Quebec occurred. This time it was the St. Roch suburb, which was almost entirely wiped out; a part of St. Sauveur was also burned, and 20,000 people in all were left homeless.

The Imperial Government had shown not only its readiness to acquiesce in the scheme for Confederation, but had brought such pressure to bear upon

the Maritime Provinces as to cause a reversal of sentiment in Nova Scotia, where, on a popular vote, the proposition had been overwhelmingly condemned the year before. The Legislatures of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia both passed resolutions in favor of Confederation. Little Prince Edward Island held out, declining to have anything to do with it. Newfoundland's Legislature passed resolutions in favor of Confederation, but later rescinded them. There was a change of government in England that summer which somewhat checked the movement. But, finally being assured that the new Government was as favorable to the Confederation as the old, the delegates at last sailed for England. These delegates from Canada consisted of Macdonald, Cartier, Howland, Macdougall, Langevin, and Galt. The Maritime Provinces' delegates were Tupper, Archibald, Tilley, and Mitchell.

Nova Scotia now for Confederation

CHAPTER LI

THE MARITIME PROVINCES, 1759-1867

A brief review

IT is proper at this time, when Confederation impends, to take a cursory review of the events in the Maritime Provinces since the conquest of New France by Great Britain in 1759. This review will necessarily be brief, not through any failure to appreciate the importance of these Provinces, but because they had very little to do with the development of Canada as a whole, and are unimportant as compared with Upper and Lower Canada. There was but one Maritime Province at the beginning of this period. That was Nova Scotia, which compassed what that Province is to-day, in addition to New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The capital was Halifax.

Lawrence's disgrace

The first event of importance after the conquest was the death of Governor Lawrence, which was the result of a cold contracted at a ball given in honor of the capture of Montreal. This cold in its fatal results was a blessing to his memory, for we are told an investigation of his official record was about to be ordered. As it is, we find no official indictment against him, but the expulsion of the Acadians was quite enough indictment and disgrace for any man.

Aside from the usual trouble with the Indians

and Maine settlers, Nova Scotia had for the next decade an uneventful history. Prince Edward Island, then called the Island of St. John, separated from Nova Scotia in 1770, showing an independence which is common with islanders. The Province of Nova Scotia had gained little in population, few Englishmen coming in to replace the Acadians, but with the American Revolution all this was changed. Nova Scotia became the Mecca of a large Loyalist exodus from New England, and "going to Halifax" became a stock phrase for the first time. Those United Empire Loyalists were welcomed heartily, and large land grants were made to them. The great bulk of these settlers landed, on May 18, 1783, at the mouth of the St. John River, and there established the city of St. John, now the metropolis of New Brunswick, which was called Parrtown, in honor of the Governor. It is estimated that over 5,000 Loyalists were included in the settlement of that neighborhood during this summer of 1783. More came the succeeding year, and probably in the long run the total of U. E. L. settlers in Nova Scotia was 13,000. This included a large number of Maryland Loyalists some of whom were shipwrecked while on their way to Quebec, one of the most pathetic of the many tragedies in connection with the Loyalist exodus. Most of these 13,000 were in the western part of the Province, of which St. John was the natural capital. They had not been long in this new land before they began to assert themselves and characteristically make demands. They demanded representation in the Provincial Assembly, but because the Governor could not increase the size of that body without permission

Nova Scotia profits by the American Revolution

The Loyalists land, May 18, 1783

Begin to assert themselves

from London he was compelled to reject their appeal. The following year, however, a new tack was taken, and the western part of the Province was set off and called New Brunswick; also Cape Breton became a separate Province, making four Provinces in what had been but one. There was little of consequence to mark the history of the next few decades. As has been stated in another chapter, the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, was, between 1794 and 1799, commander-in-chief of the royal forces at Halifax, and, in compliment to him, the name of St. John Island was changed to Prince Edward Island. It was about this time that Kings College was established at Windsor, Nova Scotia, for the education of the children of the Church of England people. The War of 1812 left almost no trace upon the Maritime Provinces. No expedition set out against them from American shores, but the port of Halifax was very busy as a rendezvous for British squadrons and privateers, and this greatly increased the prosperity of the Province. In 1814 two expeditions sailed from Halifax to Maine. In the first one Moose Island and Eastport were captured, and in the second Castine and Bangor were taken, and the inhabitants were compelled to swear allegiance to the British Crown, which they did, it is said, quite willingly, and with the expectation that they might possibly forever remain British subjects. But, as usual, in the settlement of the treaty of peace, absolutely no claim was made for any of Canada's prizes, and any rights that British arms had won in these regions were wholly disregarded.

New Brunswick and Cape Breton become separate Provinces

Active in the War of 1812

The close of the War of 1812 saw disastrous

commercial conditions in this Province. The extraordinary expenditure of the war had created marked prosperity in Halifax, which now ceased. Many workmen were thrown out of employment, and general distress resulted. Halifax was no longer the chief rendezvous of British warships in American waters, Bermuda taking its place. In 1820 Cape Breton was reunited to Nova Scotia after a tempestuous history.

War's close hurts business

Cape Breton joins Nova Scotia

It was inevitable that the Maritime Provinces should see the same struggle for popular rights that the other Provinces had experienced, and this upheaval in its violent form occurred about the same time; that is, in the thirties. There was no armed rebellion as in Upper and Lower Canada, but there was a bitter contest, and, as in the case of the older Provinces, the Liberal side won in the end. The great complaint in Nova Scotia was directed against the Executive Council, which was dominated by a "Family Compact," similar to that in Upper Canada. The Bishop and the Chief Justice were members, and the affairs of the Provinces were settled in secret session without democratic representation. It became the lot of Joseph Howe to voice the protest and resentment which had been slowly gaining ground for years. These protests which he made, and which were introduced into the Assembly, alleged that the Council was bigoted, biased, and unfair. All its members lived in Halifax and had no knowledge of the other sections of the Province. A large majority of them were members of the Church of England, which was decidedly in the minority in the Province. Five of the Councilors were members of the same banking

Battle for civil rights

Joseph Howe makes protest

Contest carried to London

firm. It was an oligarchy with a vengeance, about as complete a ring as has ever been seen in American politics. When Mr. Howe's petition was presented to the Executive Council in 1837, it refused to grant his demands, which was quite natural, and the Governor being unwilling to help him, he took his case directly to the King. As usual, the Imperial authorities compromised. They did not abolish the Executive Council, but they did abolish the secret meetings and divided the Council into two parts. The control of the casual and territorial revenues was surrendered to the Assembly. London was besieged by the partizans of the other faction without result. The Governor at this time was Sir Colin Campbell, the hero of Balaklava and Lucknow, who, like the Duke of Richmond in Quebec, and other military men engaged in civil government, was thoroughly allied to the aristocratic idea of government. His successor, Lord Falkland, was of a different sort. He enlarged the Legislative Council and placed upon it members of the Reform Party. At the same time Mr. Howe was elected Speaker of the Assembly. Unfortunately, Lord Falkland became involved in a quarrel with members of the Assembly and did not reap the reward to which his liberal ideas of government entitled him; so he was recalled within a few years. His administration, however, was a direct benefit, for two years after his recall, that is, in 1848, a Reform Party gained complete control of affairs, and the principles of Responsible Government, as they became known in Canada, were finally recognized. From this time onward until the organization of the Dominion itself, the history of Nova

A compromise at first

Reform Party wins control, 1848

Scotia is largely devoted to unfinished business. The Intercolonial Railway was proposed as early as 1824, and it was one of the chief topics of debate in a Railway Convention which was held in Portland, Me., in 1850. The Provinces, however, could not be got to act together in the building of this Intercolonial Railway, so the project "hung fire" until after the Dominion was established. It was during the Parliamentary session of 1864 that the first active steps took place in Nova Scotia which indirectly resulted in the formation of the Dominion. It was proposed that the Maritime Provinces be united into one Federation, and when a Conference of the leading statesmen of these Provinces was held at Charlottetown, P. E. I., in September, 1864, representatives of the Upper and Lower Provinces of Canada asked to be allowed to be present to bring forward the plan for a Federation of all the British Provinces in North America. This resulted, as we have seen, in the formation of the Dominion.

Nova Scotia starts Confederation idea

CHAPTER LII

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

Confederation committee begins work

ON the 4th of December, 1866, the Confederation Committee was organized at Westminster Palace Hotel, London, by the election of Macdonald as chairman. Considering the importance of the matters before them, these conferences proceeded with remarkable rapidity and harmony. New Brunswick, however, threw into the company the first apple of discord in declaring that she could not endorse Confederation unless a guarantee were made that the Intercolonial Railway would be built. This matter was discussed for some time, and finally it was voted by the committee that the building of this railway was highly desirable, and that all efforts should be made to induce the Imperial Government to grant a liberal subsidy for it. Lord Monck was at London at the time and assisted greatly. The Colonial Minister, Lord Carnarvon, was highly sympathetic, and everything possible was done to facilitate the program. In some respects, however, the hopes of some of the Canadian leaders, particularly John A. Macdonald, were not carried out. Macdonald undoubtedly looked for a Kingdom of Canada. In fact, the phrase "Kingdom of Canada" occurs in all the first documents. This did not mean an independ-

New Brunswick wanted railway aid

Macdonald wished a "Kingdom of Canada"

ent kingdom, but an auxiliary kingdom, somewhat like that of the German states, with the monarch of England as its head. The bill finally was introduced into the House of Lords on February 7, 1867. On the 26th it was read for the third time and sent down to the House of Commons, and on the 8th of March it was passed with a few amendments. These were readily agreed to by the House of Lords, and on the 28th of March it received the royal assent. The measure contained, as New Brunswick hoped, a guarantee for the Intercolonial Railway loan. A bill making good this guarantee by arranging for a loan of £3,000,000 was introduced and passed by Parliament, and a proclamation was issued by the Queen appointing July 1, 1867, as the date on which the Dominion of Canada should come into existence.

The bill introduced

On March 28 it became law

It is perhaps worth noting that while Mr. Macdonald was in England at this time during these negotiations, he was married to Miss Bernard at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, on February 16th. This was his second marriage.

Immediately after the proclamation Lord Monck wrote to Macdonald designating him to be first Prime Minister of Canada. At the same time it had been agreed upon that the Queen should make him a knight; and he was the only Canadian who received the honor at that time. The provisions of the act, called the British North America Act, which is really the Constitution of Canada, will be found in the Appendix of this volume. Its main features may be briefly summarized. The Queen's representative in Canada was called the Governor-General, aided by a Privy Council, its thir-

Macdonald first Premier

Main features of the Confederation Act

teen members constituting the Ministry. Of the two Houses of Parliament the Senate was appointed as it had been when it was called the Legislative Council before the Act of Union of 1841. The Senate was at first to be composed of seventy-two members, twenty-four each for Ontario and Quebec, and twelve each for New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It has since been increased. The members of this Senate were appointed by the Government of the day for life, and needed but one property qualification, the possession of $4,000 in real estate. The House of Commons as first constituted consisted of one hundred and eighty-one members. The basis of this House was and is the representation of the Province of Quebec, which was fixed always to have sixty-five members, never less, while the others were to have members in proportion to the population, taking Quebec's population as a basis for calculation. Eighty-two were from Ontario, thirteen from Nova Scotia, and sixteen from New Brunswick. The House of Commons was elected for five years, but might be dissolved at any time with the consent of the Governor-General. Debates might be either in French or English, and the proceedings were to be recorded in both languages. The property qualifications of members were fixed at $2,000.

A separate Legislature for each Province

The most interesting and really vital part of the new arrangement, so far as old Canada was concerned, lay in the appointment of separate Legislatures for each Province. That was the real source of trouble throughout the deadlocks under the old Union Act of 1841. That is, the Parliament of two Provinces was busily engaged in settling matters which pertained peculiarly

to one or other of the two Provinces. Thus one Province would have a right to say how the other Province should administer its own internal affairs, and this illogical system was the source of all the trouble. It was impossible to keep the principle of "double majority" in dealing with these peculiar Provincial affairs. Now that Confederation was accomplished, it was easy enough to give Ontario and Quebec, as the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were to be called, the same rights over their own affairs that New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had enjoyed and were to enjoy. Thus Confederation by bringing in these other Provinces accomplished what would have been very difficult if there had been but two Provinces to consider. Each of these Provinces has a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Government of the day for five years. The Dominion Government has power of veto over acts of the local Legislatures. So far as the domestic affairs of Canada are concerned, this is an admirable Constitution, and in the forty years since it went into effect there have been very few occasions when it seemed to be inadequate and faulty. Very few changes have been made in it, the only alterations of any importance being those necessitated by the admission of new Provinces.

An admirable Constitution

According to the royal proclamation, on the 1st of July the Act of Confederation went into operation, and the Dominion of Canada came into being. Lord Monck was sworn in as Governor-General of the Dominion, and various honors were given to the leaders. John A. Macdonald, as we have seen, received the honor of Knight Commander of the Bath, while Cartier, Galt, Howland, Macdou-

Canada becomes a Dominion, July 1, 1867

gall, Tupper of Nova Scotia and Tilley of New Brunswick were each made Companion of the Bath, not so high a title as that which Macdonald received. Cartier declined to accept this dignity, thinking it incommensurate with his services, and later was himself made baronet. Mr. Galt, who also refused to accept the C. B. honor, was made a K. C. M. G. The first privy council of the Dominion as constituted at that time consisted of the following members:

The first Privy Council

Hon. A. J. F. Blair, *President.*[1]
Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, *Minister of Justice.*
Hon. H. L. Langevin, *Secretary of State of Canada.*
Hon. A. T. Galt, *Minister of Finance.*
Hon. W. Macdougall, *Minister of Public Works.*
Hon. Alexander Campbell, *Postmaster-General.*
Hon. J. C. Chapais, *Minister of Agriculture.*
Hon. E. Kenney, *Receiver-General.*
Hon. Sir George E. Cartier, *Minister of Militia.*
Hon. S. L. Tilley, *Minister of Customs.*
Hon. W. P. Howland, *Minister of Inland Revenue.*
Hon. P. Mitchell, *Minister of Marine and Fisheries.*
Hon. A. G. Archibald, *Secretary of State for the Provinces.*

Macdonald's coalition Ministry

Of the members of this Cabinet six were Reformers, and six, besides Macdonald, were Conservatives. This was done by Macdonald deliberately. He meant to let bygones be bygones and eliminate parties altogether. In choosing his Cabinet, he proceeded on a definite principle. From Ontario, which

[1] This does not mean that he was Premier, but was merely an honorary officer of the Privy Council, which was, so far as membership is concerned, identical with the Cabinet.

HON. JOSEPH HOWE

the Reformers had usually carried, he took three Reformers—McDougall, Howland, and Blair, and two Conservatives, Campbell and himself. From Quebec, almost solidly Conservative, he selected four Conservatives — Cartier, Langevin, Chapais, and Galt. From New Brunswick, two Reformers—Tilley and Mitchell. From Nova Scotia, one Reformer and one Conservative — Archibald and Kenny. The Senate, as he constituted it, was 32 Conservatives to 32 Reformers. Macdonald affected to believe he had made but one party, and he called it the Liberal-Conservative. But, of course, he was too good a judge of men and the world to believe that this could be done. The old dyed-in-the-wool Reformers would not accept the coalition, and under George Brown, who, it will be observed, was not invited into the Cabinet by Macdonald, fought against the Ministry and called themselves Liberals, or Grits. In time, the Macdonald party came to assume its old name of Conservative.

Brown fights the Ministry

The elections which followed the inauguration of the Confederation did not show much change of public sentiment except in Nova Scotia. The Macdonald Cabinet in the Dominion as a whole was well sustained, and the Ministry in the Province of Ontario, as Upper Canada was now called, which was headed by J. S. Macdonald, received a substantial backing. The coming of Mr. J. S. Macdonald into the Premiership of Ontario was accomplished largely through the influence of Sir John himself. The Premier of all Canada, while differing in many details from the Premier of Ontario in politics, for the latter was really a Liberal, admired his independence of views, his honesty in

J. S. Macdonald as Premier of Ontario

general affairs, and his care in public business. The alliance, as it might be called, of these two gentlemen in politics was successful, and continued without great interruptions during the four years' term of the Ontario Ministry. It is true the Ontario Macdonald was pretty jealous of his power over affairs in Ontario, and was also desirous of mixing up considerably in the business of the Dominion, but these differences were smoothed away without great disturbance, and the whole was an evidence of the compromise wisdom of the greater man.

Discontent in Nova Scotia

In Nova Scotia, however, as has been said, the Confederation was very unpopular. It will be remembered that it was only by the use of Imperial pressure that the acquiescence of Nova Scotia to the Confederation in the first place was obtained. After Confederation had been agreed upon, Nova Scotians reverted to their former position of antagonism. One reason for this is said to have been the feeling that the annual subsidy from the Dominion Government of $60,000 in addition to 80 cents per head was thought to be insufficient to pay all expenses of the Government. Very probably, however, the basis for this antagonism was largely the feeling that some other Province was more favored than was this one, and the chief strength of the antagonism came in the personality of its leader, Mr. Joseph Howe. Mr. Howe had not been consulted so much regarding the preliminaries to Confederation as had Mr. Tupper and other gentlemen of the Province. Mr. Howe was by all odds the leading man of Nova Scotia, and is said by some, whose basis of judgment may not have been entirely broad enough, to have been the greatest orator that British Amer-

Howe in opposition

ica has ever produced. At any rate, his continued opposition to Confederation carried with it the Province. The first election after the Union resulted in an overwhelming majority in the Provincial Legislature opposed to Confederation. A petition was sent to the British Parliament asking that Nova Scotia be allowed to secede from the Confederation, and Mr. Howe was sent to England to obtain the granting of this petition. He had no sooner arrived, however, than he found that Mr. Tupper of his Province had followed him as the representative of the Dominion Government to checkmate his plans. The two men had a number of conferences in England that were amicable enough and probably formed a basis for a later agreement. It was intimated in as general a way as possible to Mr. Howe that the Dominion Government was very anxious to avail itself of his services, and it was hinted to him that a place in the Ministry might be open to him in case Nova Scotia accepted Confederation. He did not repudiate the suggestion altogether, and yet he showed plainly that it would be impossible for him under the circumstances, opposed as he was to Confederation, to consider the proposition of entering the Confederation as a member of the Government.

Petitions for secession

Howe and Tupper in London

The Imperial Parliament, of course, refused to make any change in the Act of Confederation, and Mr. Howe's errand to England was fruitless. On his return he made a report to the Legislature of his mission, and there was a good deal of hot-tempered talk on the subject. It was, however, intimated to the Prime Minister of Canada that a visit from him and his colleagues to Nova Scotia would

be acceptable. Consequently this visit was made, and, while it was not without its unpleasant incidents, it undoubtedly paved the way to better understanding. The "better terms" which Nova Scotia demanded were offered. The amount of debt assumed by the Dominion was increased from $8,000,000 to over $9,000,000, and the amount of annual subsidy was also increased, and the cost of the new Provincial buildings was assumed by the Dominion. These grants undoubtedly softened the asperities of public feeling, and Mr. Howe regarded himself as justified in withdrawing his opposition to the Confederation. Up to this time the Provincial Legislature had several times met and immediately prorogued without accomplishing or seeming to wish to accomplish anything, but now the regular session was held, and the new Government entered upon its duties with every prospect of harmony and success. Then Mr. Howe accepted the position in the Government of Canada as President of the Council and later as Secretary of State. This act of his was regarded by many of his supporters as disloyal and venal, and so great was the revulsion of feeling toward him that it was difficult for him to secure reelection. The Province had other troubles about this same time. The year's catch of fish was a disappointment, but the other Provinces eagerly came forward to offer and give substantial assistance. This generous action did much to reconcile the Nova Scotians to Confederation. Since that time there has been no more loyal Province than Nova Scotia. It is on that soil, that is, Halifax, that the viceroys are accustomed first to land, and the reception which they always receive there is as hearty and cordial

"Better terms" secured

Mr. Howe accepts office in Dominion Government

as that of any other city in the Dominion. At Halifax are the great docks built for receiving British warships. The defenses of that city were, until recently, manned by the Imperial soldiery, both arms, naval and military, being especially prominent there. Recent changes in concentration methods in the navy have led to the withdrawal of the British warships, while the citadel is now guarded by Canadian, not British, troops; but this new order has no effect upon Nova Scotia's loyalty to the Dominion which is too well grounded now to be shaken.

Nova Scotia now thoroughly loyal

One of the momentous occurrences in Canadian history we have passed over in tracing the progress of the Confederation sentiment in Nova Scotia; that is the assassination of Mr. McGee. Thomas d'Arcy McGee was an eloquent Irishman, who, after a somewhat stormy career in which he took part in the insurrection of Smith O'Brien in 1848, was compelled to flee from Ireland. He escaped to the United States, and at length arrived in Montreal, where he started a newspaper and became very popular. He first entered Parliament in 1857. Being an Irishman, he was "agin" the Government and consequently was allied with George Brown. In 1862 he became President of the Council under John Sandfield Macdonald, and later he changed his views, so that he came into close political and personal comradeship with John A. Macdonald. He was a member of the Taché-Macdonald administration in 1864, and until Confederation was accomplished. Then, in order that harmony might be restored, and because some one else, whose repudiation might embarrass Macdonald, wanted the position he held, McGee generously offered to withdraw

The assassination of Mr. McGee

McGee's denunciation of Fenianism

from the Ministry, and his offer was accepted.[1] In 1865 he visited Ireland, and while there vehemently denounced Fenianism and the Fenians. This courageous attitude brought upon him the rage and the hatred of a large bulk of that brotherhood, and probably led to his assassination. He was killed on the night of April 7th when just entering his office in Ottawa after having attended a session of Parliament, and this deed was ascribed to the Fenians.

Lord Monck's term ends, 1868

The end of Lord Monck's term of office had at last come. It had been extended until Confederation was accomplished, but in 1868 it terminated. There are many different opinions on Lord Monck in Canada. The Liberals of that time believed him to be unfair toward them and too much in sympathy with the Conservatives and J. A. Macdonald. This is the same charge of partiality and bias which had been made up to that time against all viceroys, and in the case of Lord Monck it was justified. But the obvious answer to that charge was that John A. Macdonald was undoubtedly the biggest man in Canada, and the man most capable of carrying out Confederation, and it was only just and fair that his eminence should be recognized. On the whole, we can say very freely that the administration of Lord Monck was a success and highly creditable in many ways.

Baron Lisgar as viceroy

He was succeeded by Sir John Young, Baron Lisgar. The new viceroy had just come from a period as Governor of New South Wales. Before that time he had been Chief Secretary for Ireland and Lord High Commissioner for the Ionian Islands. Among the first problems which came before the

[1] Sir Charles Tupper did practically the same thing.

new Governor-General and the Government was that of the Great Northwest, which, in these early days of the twentieth century, is attracting more attention than any other section of unoccupied land in the world. All of this tract, or practically all of it, was owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. A vast amount of literature has been written about this great company, and it stands even to-day as one of the foremost pioneer trading concerns in the world. What it was in the early history of Canada we have seen here and there, but it may be well at this time to recapitulate a portion of its history.

The Great Northwest

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

In 1670 Charles II granted to certain English traders a charter of incorporation of "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson Bay." The reader will remember that in those days the Kings of England and France gave land in North America very freely, land which they were not sure that they possessed, and concerning which they knew little or nothing. This new organization received from King Charles not only a trading monopoly, but a proprietorship of all the region drained by the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. The object of this company, in the first place, was the same object as that of every other concern in Canada—the fur trade. Hudson Bay itself was, as we may recall, the scene of naval battles when French traders were contesting with the British for the right to fur business in that lonesome north land. However, in 1712, by the Treaty of Utrecht, the British claims to the North were conceded. Then, until 1759, the French possessions in North

The fur trade

America were bounded on the north and on the south by British possessions, so that, indeed, New France consisted of a little stripe in the fabric of British North America. These rights at last granted, the Hudson's Bay Company, as it was then and has since been called, extended its business throughout the whole of that vast region. Voyages and explorations were made into every section of the country, and the names of the discoverers and adventurers in those early days may be found attached to the lakes, rivers, and inlets of that region. The French, of course, had traders along the Red River of the North as well as the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan, but these French traders were not disturbed, and, in general, no conflicts with them ensued. But in 1783 some Scotch traders organized the Northwest Company, with its chief depot at Fort William, now a flourishing wheat export centre on Lake Superior. It sent out its explorers and traders in all directions, and soon came into active competition and conflict with the older concern. What rights this Scotch company had is not clear, but it seems to have obtained some sort of protection from the Crown, for the Hudson's Bay Company had a great deal of trouble in expelling its traders.

A rival company in 1783

It was during the régime of Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, that the first colony of settlers came into that country. He received from the company a grant of over ten million acres of land, and, to protect it, established Fort Douglas, afterward called Fort Garry, where Winnipeg now is. Naturally, it was hardy Highlanders whom he induced to come out and found Manitoba. These settlers, in coming

The founding of Manitoba

to America, took the Northern Route! In other words, they came by way of Hudson Bay, a route which seems not to have grown very popular with travelers from Europe. They spent the entire winter in the ice and on the sea, and thought they had endured enough hardships to last them and their descendants for a century or two. But the worst was yet to come. No sooner had they reached the neighborhood of Fort Douglas, in 1812, when an armed force from the Northwest Company, the rival concern, appeared and drove them off, and they had to take refuge in the Hudson Bay post of Pembina, just across the border, in what is now North Dakota. Next year the Highlanders tried it again, and, having sowed their wheat, they enjoyed one year's peace. But the following year, 1814, the rival company sent another band of villains against them and burned their homes and crops. Five times they were driven away by their enemies or by crop failures. Lord Selkirk brought men and actually dragged two cannon through the wilderness in order to defend his settlement. Finally, by legal process and a show of force, the rivals were cowed and the settlement had a chance to live. It was then 1817, and that first year of real peace, when all circumstances seemed favorable, the grasshoppers alighted on the fields one July day and by night the wheat was gone. This almost broke the Highlanders' hearts, as it did those of the farmers of the Missouri Valley in the seventies. But after a miserable winter in Pembina, Selkirk induced them to return, and at a cost of $5,000 he brought 250 bushels of red wheat from Wisconsin, and this time Heaven smiled and the

Highlanders came via Hudson Bay

Beaten out year after year

Enemy baffled and then come grasshoppers

Success at last

colony got a start which it has since maintained. Such a labor is it to found a state.

Rival concern bought out

This warfare was expensive and even ruinous to both concerns, and finally a combination was effected, the original name remaining. This combination became invincible and controlled the entire fur trade of the Great Northwest. The head depot was fixed at Fort Garry. It is evident that this company was not only a commercial company, but a governing concern as well. Their factors, as their agents were called, ruled and dispensed justice in a rude way over a whole territory, where, naturally enough, the population was very small. In this government it was inevitable that in time they should come into conflict with the authorities at Ottawa. The Dominion Government claimed a

Conflict with Canadian Government

sort of jurisdiction over what is now the Province of Manitoba, dependent upon certain sections of the treaty which closed the French and Indian War. They made no assertion of these claims until Confederation was actually accomplished, and there was some sort of nation to assert itself; but they were very prompt to do this just as soon as Confederation came. The contesting claims were submitted to the Imperial authorities, and the Colonial Secretary, Lord Granville, finally arranged a basis of settlement.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY FORMED

THIS basis was that the entire region should pass from the control of the Hudson's Bay Company into that of Canada, and this arrangement was made in April, 1869. The new tract was called Rupert's Land, and the Northwestern Territory was to be

administered by Lieutenant-Governor and a Council nominated by the Government of Canada. The Hon. William Macdougall, who had been a member of the Coalition Ministry just before Confederation, was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor. This seemed a most fit appointment, for Macdougall had made the acquisition of this territory by Canada a hobby. One would think without hesitation that the inhabitants of this region would welcome the rule of Canada, rather than the one they had been accustomed to, for it certainly meant more freedom and progress; but a large portion of the population of the Red River Valley consisted of half-breeds, descendants of the old French traders, and they were less willing to accept the government of a British colony than they were that of British traders. They disliked the name of England. This hatred came honestly enough to them, and they also resented the way by which their allegiance was transferred. But the real reason for hostility to the new Government was no doubt that a great majority of them, half-breeds, or "Metis," really had no legal right to the land on which they lived. They had simply "squatted" on it and were afraid that with the coming of the power of the Canadian authorities they would be evicted. In some intangible way, also, they had come to believe that in their resistance to Canadian authority they would have the moral support, if not the open assistance, of the French of Quebec. That this belief rested upon a real foundation, Canada learned quite well.

Macdougall chosen first Lieutenant-Governor

Half-breeds fear coming of Canadian rule

Most of them squatters

RIEL'S FIRST REBELLION

Riel organizes a provisional government

THE leader of this discontent was Louis Riel, a Northwest half-breed. Riel had received his education in Quebec, and went there to prepare himself for the priesthood, but for some reason he did not finish his course and returned to his home in the Northwest. He was a type of the brilliant, irresponsible agitator with an original gift of power of expression which was dangerous in that wild country. In the autumn of 1869 he organized his followers into a sort of provisional government, in which he was Secretary of State. At this time there were in the country a number of Canadian surveyors, who had been sent there in anticipation of the transfer of the country. Their conduct toward the inhabitants was not the most considerate, and their demeanor and attitude were to some extent responsible for the hostile feeling which grew up there. Also the Hudson's Bay Company had not been diligent to inform the people of the transfer, and certainly had not transferred any good-will at all. Unfortunately, just at this time the two men who might have stopped the progress of discontent, Archbishop Taché and Governor MacTavish of the Hudson's Bay Company, were not able to do so. Governor MacTavish was seriously ill, and the bishop was in Rome. So without this restraining influence Riel and his hot-headed crowd had practically their own way. They ordered the Canadian surveyors out of the country, and were prepared to give the new Governor, Macdougall, a similar reception.

The unfortunate absence of two men

When Macdougall arrived, in September, 1869,

at Pembina, in the extreme northeast corner of North Dakota, he learned of the uprising. His instructions on this point from Macdonald were explicit. He was not to enter the country unless the country was ready for him. Sir John, with his accustomed craftiness, laid upon the Hudson's Bay Company the responsibility of conditions, and declared that he would not accept the government from them, or pay over to them the sum agreed upon—a million and a half dollars—until the country was in a pacified condition, and there would be no question of its readiness to receive the transfer. As soon as Macdougall was halted at Pembina by the news of the rebellion, Macdonald notified the Canadian agent at London not to pay over the money, and the whole deal was held up for some time. This was an entirely proper and wise move on the Premier's part. But in the mean time, Macdougall, in spite of his instructions, did cross the boundary line into what was soon to become the Province of Manitoba, and issued a proclamation, taking charge of it and ordering the Riel rebels to disperse. His authority was wholly ignored, and he was compelled to retreat across the line to Pembina.

Macdonald refuses to pay the money

Macdougall's blunder

Meanwhile, Riel had seized Fort Garry, had imprisoned some of the English inhabitants who were opposed to him, and was ruling matters with a high hand. Before Governor MacTavish could recover his health Riel had obtained such a hold on affairs that the Governor could do nothing, so the only hope of the Canadian Government lay in Archbishop Taché, who hastened home to use his influence. But before he could reach Fort Garry, Riel's savagery had carried him beyond the bound of di-

Riel seizes Fort Garry

The murder of Scott

plomacy. A young Scotch settler named Thomas Scott, from Ontario, openly denounced Riel and his cause. Scott was arrested, court-martialed, condemned to death, and on March 4, 1870, was shot. This was the act of a madman, for Riel was warned repeatedly of its consequences. As soon as the news of Scott's murder reached Ottawa, the Government determined that military force, which they had been loath to use because they did not wish to force any people into loyalty, was necessary. Then ensued some peculiar complications. Archbishop Taché arrived at Fort Garry just a short time after the execution of Scott. He was so anxious to make peace that he did not recognize that the power given to him to issue pardons to the rebels was vitiated by this murderous act. So he continued to lavish promises of pardon upon all the rebels, and immediately after they had laid down their arms under his persuasion, troops came into that region to avenge Scott's murder. Indeed, delegates from the Riel Government, who were on their way to Ottawa to arrange for union with the Dominion, might well have crossed the path of the army bent upon their extermination. The leader of this expedition was Colonel Garnet Wolseley, who later became commander-in-chief of the British army. Because it was a military expedition, he could not pass through the United States,[1] and on this account was compelled to take that terrible journey north of Lake Superior and through the unbroken forest, where now the Canadian Pacific Railway trains placidly run. This force was delayed so long on

Archbishop Taché exceeds his authority

Wolseley's terrible journey

[1] Even a Canadian military company bearing arms can not to-day march through the streets of any American city.

reaching Fort Garry, not arriving there until August, that while it was on its way the Province of Manitoba was received into the Confederation. Manitoba had been formed out of the Northwest Territory, and had the same size as now. It looked as if these rebels under Riel were to be paid for rebelling, for in this Manitoba Act, 1,400,000 acres of land were reserved for the settlement of half-breeds, and in this way most of the grievances which Riel had against the Dominion Government were removed. So when the expedition really reached the scene of revolt there was no revolt. Riel had fled into exile, and his followers had quietly settled upon their lands. Undoubtedly the whole affair was a network of confusion and blundering. Hardly any of the parties concerned in it were free from blame. It seems, however, as if the Canadian Government was altogether too merciful in its terms of pardon. Certainly Riel ought to have been hanged then. He richly deserved the fate, and it would have saved Canada much trouble in after years if this usual mode employed by Englishmen in dealing with rebels all over the world had been carried out. But Macdonald was afraid of another uprising, and did not wish to vitiate the promises the Archbishop had made, and thus enrage the Catholics of Quebec and everywhere else in Canada, and so he submitted to the outrage on the terms given above. It was out of the question to appoint Macdougall Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province, he had blundered so sadly. The choice fell upon A. G. Archibald, Member of Parliament for Colchester, Nova Scotia, one of the "Fathers of the Confederation," and he set forth in the fall of that year for his new post in

Manitoba made a Province

Revolt over and Riel flees

Archibald succeeds Macdougall

A large emigration

the Northwest, which included the position of Governor of Manitoba also. The admission of this new Province was the signal for a large emigration into that region. Some of the troops who went up with Wolseley remained, and settlers poured in from all over the world. The city of Winnipeg grew up where Fort Garry was, and within a few years the population of the Province had doubled.

BRITISH COLUMBIA ADMITTED

THE Province of Manitoba and the Northwest Territory extended from the western boundary of Ontario to the Rocky Mountains and the Arctic Ocean. Beyond the Rocky Mountains was British Columbia, a British colony, and as long as Canada was in the expansion business, it seemed best to her Government and to London that this British colony should be included in the new Dominion. That vast territory west of the Rocky Mountains had been altogether neglected by the Crown and by the world in general. Its only important part to traders was the Island of Vancouver, where certain peltries were found. In 1849 this island was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company. Ten years later that charter expired, and the island was erected into a Crown colony, but was reunited to the mainland in 1866. Although the Hudson's Bay Company had no monopoly in that region, it did all it could to keep out the Imperial authorities and to prevent the inclusion of British Columbia in the Dominion. But John A. Macdonald was already scheming in his usual far-seeing way and was able to circumvent the opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company. He suggested to the Governor-General

Vancouver once owned by the H. B. C.

in 1869 that it would be an excellent idea to transfer Mr. Anthony Musgrave, then Governor of Newfoundland, to British Columbia. In Newfoundland he had exerted himself to secure Confederation, and he would undoubtedly pursue the same policy in British Columbia. This advice was followed, and in the same year Mr. Musgrave was transferred. In the next year an agreement was entered into between the two countries by which British Columbia joined the Dominion on the condition that a railway be built in ten years to unite it with the East. This agreement was ratified by British Columbia in the general election in the fall of 1870, and by the Dominion Legislature on June 20, 1871. Thus on July 20, 1871, another Province, British Columbia, was added to the Dominion. The difficulties in carrying out this agreement regarding the railway form one of the most interesting chapters in Canada's political history.

Becomes new Province with railway conditions, June 20, 1871

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, TOO

ANTICIPATING events chronologically, but continuing the story of expansion, we must next consider Prince Edward Island. That little country in 1865 had emphatically declined the Union. It was not represented at the conference in London in December, 1866, although a proposition was made to the colony, through Mr. Pope, leader of the Government of Prince Edward Island, who happened to be in London at that time. This proposition was that $800,000 be given to the island, to wipe out the proprietary rights in the land which had been from the beginning a fruitful source of discontent. Mr. Pope submitted that proposition to the Legis-

The Island holds out

lature, but it was defeated. In 1869 even better terms were offered by Canada, but these were also rejected. Soon the pinch of finance, however, did what no other influence could. The little Government got the railway fever, and embarked in the project of building a railway across the island, and issued bonds for a large amount. In the hard times that came to the financial world in the first part of this decade these bonds were thrown on the market and seemed impossible of negotiation. London banks would do nothing with them as long as the island was not a part of Canada. This argument was conclusive, and on the 1st of July, 1873, Prince Edward Island joined the Dominion. A sufficient sum was appropriated by Canada to buy out all these feudal land-owners, so that the soil was turned over to the people. A tentative sort of arrangement, that of a ferry from the island to the mainland, was guaranteed, and at the same time a tunnel to the same point was talked of, a proposition which is still under consideration. The failure of the Government to fulfil its guarantee as to connection of island with mainland is a perennial source of threats of secession. Thus, in 1873, the Dominion of Canada comprised British North America with the lonely exception of Newfoundland, which still holds out.

Prince Edward Island brought in, July 1, 1873

JOINT HIGH COMMISSION OF 1871

Settling vexed questions

WITH the expansion of Canada to the west there came the need of settling with the United States a great many vexed questions, which concerned the British Government as well as Canada. Accordingly, a joint high commission was constituted, which met at Washington in 1871. Its members,

on behalf of Great Britain, were the present Marquis of Ripon, then Lord de Grey, who was chairman; Sir Stafford Northcote; Sir E. Thornton, the British Minister to the United States; Mr. Montague Bernard, and Sir John A. Macdonald. The American commissioners were Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; General Schenck, Judge Nelson of the Supreme Court, Judge Hoar of Massachusetts, and Senator Williams. Sir John had accepted this position with a great many forebodings. He knew that a number of subjects would come up in which Canada would be interested, and he was afraid that, as usual, the interests of Canada would be sacrificed to those of peace. This was exactly what happened. The letters of Sir John to Sir George Cartier, Sir Charles Tupper, and others during this time, which are given in full in Mr. Joseph Pope's "Life of Macdonald," are extremely illuminating and interesting. It was a very embarrassing position for the Canadian leader. There were, to be sure, a great many other points to be considered besides those in which Canada was directly interested, but, as a representative of Canada and its only representative, he was very tenacious of his country's rights. In this he seems to have acted with his usual wisdom, care, and diligence. In fact, throughout all these negotiations and dealings with men and measures it is impossible to resist the conviction that Macdonald had grown very greatly in breadth of view since his early days when he was merely a politician.

Personnel of the commission

Macdonald the only Canadian representative

There were five subjects which this joint high commission was called to consider. One was the ownership of the island of San Juan, off the coast

Four subjects easily disposed of

of British Columbia; second, the boundaries between Canada and Alaska; third, the admission of America to Canada's fisheries; fourth, the Alabama claims; and, fifth, the counter-claims of Canada on account of the Fenian raids. The Alabama claims, as every one knows, were the claims for damages done to American shipping by the Confederate cruiser "Alabama," which was fitted out in English ports, contrary to the rules of international law. It was decided fairly early in the negotiations that the Alabama claims should be submitted to arbitration. Other points were settled in connection with the "Alabama" case, one of which related to privateering. These were regarded as very important in international law. The claims to the island of San Juan were soon referred to the German Emperor, who awarded it to the United States. The boundaries between Canada and Alaska, which had been acquired by the United States from Russia in 1867, were to be fixed by engineers. This left only the question of the fisheries, and it was over this question that the commissioners argued week after week. At last it came down, as Sir John plainly shows in his letters, to an issue, not only between himself and all the American commissioners, but all the other British commissioners. He was roundly criticized by his colleagues, and was declared to be the only obstacle in the way of peace between the United States and Great Britain, because he held out for protection to Canada's fisheries. It is not the purpose of this work to go into this fisheries question, which has formed the subject of innumerable articles in newspapers and magazines and in books, but the bare facts of the case are easy enough to state. The

Macdonald stood alone regarding the fisheries

United States has no inshore fisheries of very great consequence. Newfoundland and Canada have many. Fishing within the three-mile limits of the coast of Canada by Americans was permitted in the Reciprocity Treaty from 1856 to 1866. After its expiration the Canadian Government was asked by Canadian fishermen to refuse to allow the Americans to fish at all in those regions. But it did not like to enforce such a harsh rule as that. Instead, it issued licenses to the Americans, giving them that right by the payment of a small fee. These licenses were not secured even from the first by all the Americans, and in a short time very few of them took the trouble to get any license at all. This threw discredit upon the Canadian Administration. It was certainly a proper subject for negotiation. Macdonald attempted to secure as a compensation for these fishery rights a guaranty from the United States that lumber, salt, grain, and wool should be put on the free list, and after a great deal of discussion on this subject by the Americans, who really could not guarantee then any more than they can to-day what an American Senate would do, and after a number of telegraphic conferences with his colleagues at Ottawa, and in the consideration of alternative propositions, such as a lump sum for these rights, the matter was thus settled; an agreement for a term of twelve years was made, by which fish and fish oil from one country should be admitted duty free to the markets of the other, and the Americans should be allowed the rights of the Canadian fisheries for the payment of a lump sum, the amount of which should be determined by another commission. A number of other questions were settled. The right

The Americans' licenses

The final settlement

of navigation on the Great Lakes and in the St. Lawrence, as well as in the canals, was opened free to both nations. The Americans were allowed the privilege of floating lumber from the Maine woods down the river St. John, and provision was made for free transfer of goods in bond through each country.

The Treaty of Washington

This was called the Treaty of Washington. When its terms were known great indignation was felt throughout Canada at what was regarded as the surrender by Macdonald to American interests. This particularly referred to the fisheries dispute. Undoubtedly the feeling would have been much greater had it been known that the counter-claims for damages done by the Fenian invaders would be ignored by the British Government in settling the Alabama claims. But Macdonald, as we have seen, was not culpable in this matter at all. He had acted purely in the Canadian interests and had done all he possibly could to prevent injustice to his country. That injustice was done there by the usual course of England in dealing with the United States when Canada was concerned, that is, Canada's interests were sacrificed. The rather ironical part of the whole incident was that Nova Scotia and the other Maritime Provinces, which were most vitally interested in the settlement, accepted the award with complacency, so that it was only the farmers of Ontario who felt outraged on account of the fisheries—a condition of affairs which was full of humor to those quick-witted enough to see it. For this reason, the political significance of this treaty against the Canadian Government was by no means as formidable as it first seemed likely to be; Sir John lost very little

Maritime Provinces most affected, but unmoved

strength on that account. He did, however, lose by reason of his absence. Sir George Cartier, who was Acting Prime Minister at that time, took a number of steps which rather compromised the Government and put it in an attitude in which it would not otherwise have been placed if Sir John had been at home. Of this more later.

The same year that this Treaty of Washington was signed the census of the Dominion was taken. It gave Canada 3,433,000 people. British Columbia added 36,000, Manitoba 18,000, and Prince Edward Island, two years later, 100,000. This same year the first section of the Intercolonial Railway was laid between St. John and Bangor, which greatly stimulated commerce between Maine and New Brunswick and between New Brunswick and other sections of the Dominion. The next year Lord Lisgar's term of office expired, and a new Governor-General, the Earl of Dufferin, came.

The census of 1871

The same year occurred the general election in which the Macdonald Government was sustained again, but by a reduced majority. It was actually defeated in Ontario. It lost strength in Quebec, but in all the other Provinces, both the Maritime and the western, it made practically a clean sweep, all its candidates in Manitoba and British Columbia, being elected, and all but one in Nova Scotia.

The general election of 1872

CHAPTER LIII

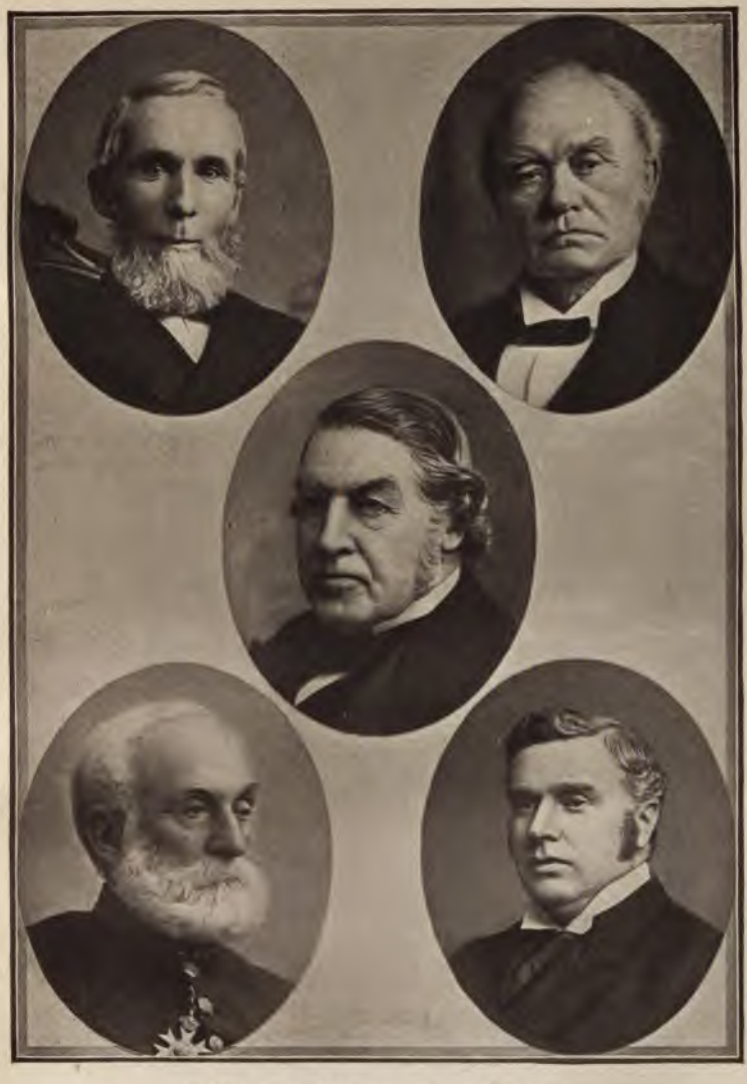
THE PACIFIC RAILWAY SCANDAL

The pledge to British Columbia

EXCEPTING the years of war, the year 1873, the one following the general election, was undoubtedly the most exciting in all the history of Canada. It was the year of the Pacific Railway scandal. It will be remembered that when British Columbia entered the Union in 1871, it was under an agreement by which the Dominion pledged itself to build a railway to connect the East and the West within ten years. It was generally felt by the Government supporters throughout old Canada that this was a hazardous pledge on the part of the Dominion. They feared that it was physically and financially impossible to build this road in that time. To-day such a problem would not stagger any country or any large company, but at that time it seemed very formidable.

The rival companies

Two companies had applied for charters to do this work—the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company and the Canada-Pacific Railway Company. The Government at that time entered into a contract with neither, but simply permitted the incorporation of both. At the head of the Canada-Pacific Company was Sir Hugh Allan, at that time the richest man in Canada, head of the great Allan S. S. Line, and interested in many other enterprises. At the head



FIVE PREMIERS OF CANADA

HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE — HON. SIR J. J. C. ABBOTT

HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER

HON. SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL — RT. HON. SIR JOHN S. D. THOMPSON

of the other concern was Mr., afterward Sir, D. L. Macpherson, of Toronto, a railway contractor. The Government brought in a measure providing for a subsidy of $30,000,000, and a grant of 50,000,000 acres of land, to be given the company awarded the contract. It was greatly desired by the Government that these two companies should combine, and negotiations were carried on for some time looking toward their consolidation, but as both Macpherson and Allan wanted to be president, the consolidation was practically impossible. Accordingly, a new company, called the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, was chartered and awarded the contract.

The contract awarded to a new concern

The stock of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was so divided that all sections of the country had an interest in it. 5-13ths of the stock of the company were to be held in Ontario, 4-13ths in Quebec, 1-13th each in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, and British Columbia. Of these thirteen shareholders and directors, Macdonald declared only one was the nominee and special choice of Allan, and that among them were three of the incorporators of the Ontario Company, his competitors. These thirteen directors and shareholders, without any assistance or suggestion from the Government, Macdonald claimed, selected Allan as the president, and Macdonald declared that this new concern had absolutely no claim whatever upon the Government, and was not appointed as the result of any trade or bargain with Allan during the preceding political campaign.

When Parliament met in March, 1873, Mr. Huntingdon, a member for the County of Shefford, gave notice that he would bring up the subject of the

A surprising speech

Canadian Pacific charter. Much speculation was indulged in regarding the revelations which he was about to make, but on the whole his speech was a complete surprise. No more highly charged bomb of scandal was ever exploded in the Canadian Parliament than this one by Mr. Huntingdon on April 2, 1873. It was to the effect that the Government of Sir John Macdonald, in consideration of large sums of money supplied for election purposes during the general elections of the previous year, had corruptly granted to Sir Hugh Allan and his associates the charter for building the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was merely an unsupported charge, but the high character of Mr. Huntingdon and the prevalence of bad rumors made it impossible to ignore it. However, because he brought in no proof, his motion for investigation of the charges was, without debate, refused by a vote of 107 to 76. But on the following Tuesday the Prime Minister moved that a committee of five be appointed to investigate the allegations. This motion was at once agreed to. A few days later, on application of the Chairman, a bill was passed empowering the committee to examine on oath the witnesses brought before them. It was also decided that the committee should have power to sit during the summer, and that it should make its report on the 13th of August, when the House reassembled for that purpose. It was, however, declared by Macdonald that a meeting of the Parliament on that date would be a formal one, merely for the purpose of receiving the report, and that the members need not return for it.

Mr. Huntingdon charges bribery against the Macdonald Government

Committee appointed to investigate

The committee began immediately to sit and hear testimony, but during the vacation the British

Government announced through the Governor-General that the bill, called the Oaths Bill, allowing the committee to summon witnesses under oath, had been disallowed by the Imperial authorities as being beyond the scope of the Dominion Parliament. Consequently the committee could do practically nothing, and when it met on August 13th to make its report to the Assembly, as provided in the understanding, all it had to report was simply some of the testimony which had been given before it. But it had really no binding force and no legal standing. Alexander Mackenzie, leader of the Liberals, however, demanded that the movement proceed and that the Governor-General dismiss the Government as unworthy of his confidence. But as this was plainly contrary to the understanding as declared by Mr. Macdonald without any dissenting voice at the time of the appointment of the committee, the Governor-General refused to dismiss the Government, and prorogued Parliament. This occasioned a great deal of angry expostulation on the part of the Opposition, and the situation was not dissimilar to that of 1854, when Lord Elgin prorogued Parliament in order to save his Ministers from defeat. But the Governor-General was undoubtedly right in his action. And he at once showed that he was determined to have a fair investigation, for a Royal Commission was issued a day after the prorogation, authorizing and empowering three judges—the Hon. Charles Dewey Day, the Hon. Antoine Polette, and the Hon. James Robert Garland—to make the investigation. They began the sittings on August 18th and examined thirty-six witnesses, including Macdonald, Allan, Macpherson

A Parliamentary tangle

A Royal Commission appointed

(head of the competing company), and Abbott (agent of Allan in the negotiations). Mr. Huntingdon, who stirred up the scandal, declined to attend or to assist the inquiry in any way, pleading immunity as a member of the Parliament.

MACDONALD'S DEFENSE

On October 9th the Prime Minister wrote a letter to the Governor-General, giving an explanation of the affair from his standpoint, and this explanation is so complete as to form a basis for a fair judgment upon the alleged corruption. According to this letter, the great issue of the campaign of the previous year was the Pacific Railway. The Liberals under the leadership of Mackenzie opposed the building of the railway by any concern. It was, therefore, a contest between those who wished the railway built and those who opposed it, and Macdonald regarded the attitude of the Opposition as meaning to abrogate the pledge made to British Columbia when it was admitted into the Confederation. Therefore, it was plainly incumbent upon the Pacific Railway Company and all who were interested in the railway at all, or interested in carrying out the pledge of the Government, to use their endeavors and contribute their money to the success of the Government at that election. This was the plain situation,[1] and while public sentiment was undoubtedly sensitive on the matter, yet, if there had been nothing else than these circumstances, no discredit could rightly have attached to Macdonald, although the accusations might have injured him. But, unfortunately, there

The issue was railway or no railway

Public sentiment sensitive

[1] Opposition orators in that campaign boldly declared that the road if built would never pay.

were other circumstances connected with it, as shown by the testimony, revealing damaging facts, although Macdonald himself declared he knew nothing about those facts until their publication.

Allan and Cartier warm friends

However, some things he had known. Sir Hugh Allan lived in Montreal, so did Sir George Cartier. The latter was Macdonald's old personal and political friend, a member of the Ministry and leader of the French element in the party. He had become involved in a personal quarrel with the archbishop, and had also had political and personal difficulties with a number of leading men among his constituents. Macdonald urged him not to try to be returned from that constituency, but to accept an election from Manitoba; but Sir George, who was headstrong and obstinate in the matter, and who was indeed declining in mental equilibrium, would not give up this fight, which was sure to cost a great deal of money.[2] About the time when the campaign was at its hottest, Sir Hugh Allan contributed $25,000 to the campaign in Quebec Province, a large part of which was undoubtedly used in Cartier's district. About this time, also, Sir Hugh Allan wrote to Macdonald that, in case no amalgamation of the two companies should be secured, Cartier had promised him that the contract should be given to his company. Macdonald declares that he at once saw the fatal blunder of such a bargain as this,

Cartier promised Allan Ministry's support

Macdonald repudiated this bargain

[2] Sir George died May 20, 1873, a few weeks after the charges were made by Mr. Huntingdon. Joseph Howe died in June of that year. It was Cartier who in 1848 wrote a letter to Lord Grey containing this famous, but often misquoted, phrase: "Who will venture to say that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French Canadian?"

and wrote to Allan that no such agreement could possibly stand, that Cartier had no authority to make it, and it must be abrogated. To this demand Sir Hugh Allan agreed after exchange of letters, and it was understood that the situation was *in statu quo ante*.

Macdonald asked Allan for help in Ontario

However, after this incident, finding a great fight on in Ontario, Macdonald asked Allan to contribute $10,000 for work in that Province, which Allan accordingly gave. Now this was a great blunder on the part of Macdonald, but he explained that he regarded the success of the party as of such vital importance that he was willing to run the risk of being called corrupt in order to see that the contract which the Dominion had made with British Columbia should be carried out. It has been charged that this $10,000 went into Macdonald's district, but this accusation Macdonald himself flatly denied, declaring that he did not ask for it until he himself had been elected. It was asserted and generally believed that Allan's contributions to the Conservative campaign reached a total of $300,000, a stupendous sum in those simple days. The Opposition had got possession of a large number of letters and telegrams from various parties in the United States, showing that Americans were interested in the railway, and that the promises which Allan made, that he would not have any American stockholders in it, had been violated. There were a number of other telegrams which seemed to incriminate Macdonald, but there was nothing absolutely convincing. The actions, however, of Cartier and Allan in trying to delay the investigation by their absence in England that summer, and the circumstances of the Imperial

Americans interested in the company

Government apparently coming to the rescue of Macdonald, and the admission by Macdonald himself of having asked Allan for contributions after he had known of Cartier's pledge—all these greatly weakened the prestige of the Government, and by the time Parliament reassembled, on the 23d of October, to receive the report, it was evident that the country had lost its confidence in the Ministry.

Macdonald's cause weakening

MACDONALD'S FALL.

THE commission made no recommendations or accusations against anybody, but merely recited a summary of events, which was, however, felt to be very damaging to the Ministry. At the opening of Parliament, Mackenzie moved, as the sense of Parliament, that the Ministry had merited the severe censure of the House. The debate lasted a week, but on the various motions it was evident that the Ministry was steadily losing its majority, and, probably, on the critical motion would fall. On November 3d Sir John A. Macdonald made an exhaustive defense of his acts before a house that held one of the most interested audiences ever assembled in Canada. Among the auditors were both friends and those who would be only too glad to see him receive what they considered a merited rebuke. It was not a great speech, although well applauded, and it plainly failed to satisfy the majority. Not deceiving himself, Macdonald decided to anticipate the vote of censure by his resignation, which was offered and accepted on the next day, November 4th. And so John A. Macdonald was beaten and disgraced. The eagle fell.

The Premier's speech and audience

Macdonald resigns, Nov. 4th

CHAPTER LIV

MACKENZIE'S BRIEF PREMIERSHIP

Liberal victory

THE Governor-General immediately called upon Mr. Mackenzie to form a Ministry, which he did. Parliament was prorogued and dissolved soon after, and an appeal to the country followed. The response of the people was emphatic. Out of the 200 members elected, nearly 150 were Liberals, leaving only about 50 remnants of the powerful party which had stood back of Macdonald. It looked as if the old war-horse had been finally crushed, but, as wise as the Sphinx, he simply bided his time, and his time was coming.

C. P. R. throws up its charter

The only thing, of course, for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to do was to throw up its charter, and this left the problem for the new Administration to solve. It was by no means a welcome problem, and Mackenzie tried in all ways possible to get rid of it. British Columbia was infuriated by the action of the Government, and demanded that the pledge be fulfilled, but the Mackenzie Government delayed on the ground that preliminary surveys had not been completed, and confused the issue by considering the project in which the Great Lakes would be used for part of the right of way. The Government also tried to pass a bill to build a part of the road from the

Pacific Coast to Nanaimo, but the Senate, in which the Conservatives predominated, refused to pass the measure (one of the few bills which the Senate has blocked since it was inaugurated). Then a scheme was proposed by which the Dominion was to pay the Province three-fourths of a million of dollars in lieu of the road. This British Columbia rejected with indignation.

The Government's embarrassments

During all this time Macdonald was pursuing Fabian tactics. He made practically no opposition to any proposals of the Government, preferring that the roll-call should not disclose how weak his party was. But in September, 1875, when one of the Government seats in Toronto became vacant, Sir John determined to make a fight for it. He induced John Beverley Robinson to become the Conservative candidate, and Robinson was elected by a majority that simply stunned the Government. This was in a Province which the Liberals had controlled. From this time onward Macdonald resumed his fighting attitude. Not only was he ready to fight, but he had excellent weapons with which to fight. In the first place he had the Pacific Railway and the discontent of British Columbia, which grew so rapidly that by 1878 the Provincial Government had passed resolutions asking Great Britain to dissolve its union with the Dominion. Another of his weapons, moreover, was the protective tariff, which he now urged on every occasion. The occasion was, however, his creation also. He made the occasions, and they took the form of Conservative political picnics. These he started in 1876, and he carried them on through that summer and the succeeding summer. It was at these picnics that he

Macdonald shows his hand

British Columbia would secede

Conservative political picnics

proclaimed the necessity of a national policy, and from that time the phrase "national policy" in Canada has meant the protective tariff. His arguments for it sound very like the arguments for the protective tariff in the United States. He was able to make his points effective because of the generally low state of the Dominion's finances. The large surplus which had been in the treasury during the Macdonald régime was now replaced by a deficit. The Mackenzie Administration was unable to put forward any speaker who could answer the arguments of Macdonald except by pointing to England as the greatest nation on earth, because of her free-trade policy, an argument which Macdonald combated by showing that not only was England not a genuinely free-trade country, but it was her adherence to moderate free trade which was causing her to relax her grip on the world's commerce, a condition which, patent in 1876-77, is as much so to-day. These circumstances and arguments were continuing to weaken the Ministry. Practically all the by-elections which were held during this time went against the Government. The Hon. Edward Blake, who had been the most prominent member of the Ministry, resigned on the ground of ill-health. Things went from bad to worse until the five years of the Parliament expired, and it was necessary to hold a general election.

Country's finances in low state

Ministry weakened

Mackenzie's Government overwhelmingly defeated

In spite of the general decline of the Government's fortunes, Mackenzie and a great many of his friends felt that they would be able to carry the election by a small majority, but the result was most astonishing—an overwhelming defeat. Although Macdonald's own city, Kingston, turned against him, and

he was defeated there for the first time since 1844, he got a seat in Marquette, Manitoba, and his party swept the country. Out of the House of 206 members, the Conservatives had 146 members, almost exactly the same strength which the Mackenzie Administration had secured four years before. Mackenzie himself had seemed to lack strength and initiative. He was honest and incorruptible, but his policy was unstable and unconvincing. Only in one matter did he accomplish anything tangible, and that was the settlement of the fisheries dispute. It will be remembered that in the Treaty of Washington it was stipulated that the amount which the United States was to pay for the use of the fisheries for the twelve years' period was to be settled by commission. The United States did not seem to be in a hurry about getting that commission to work. Finally, however, by Mr. Mackenzie's urgency, the Hon. E. H. Kellogg of the United States, Sir Alexander Galt of Canada, and M. Delfosse of the Belgian legation at Washington, were named as arbitrators. The Canadian demand was $14,500,000. The Americans characteristically declared that they ought not to pay anything, but finally the sum nominated was $5,500,000, and this amount was paid by the United States after considerable delay.

Mackenzie's weakness

Fisheries dispute settled

Mackenzie showed his weakness in an interesting controversy that came up from Quebec. The Lieutenant-Governor was Hon. Letellier de St. Just, a prominent Liberal appointed by Mackenzie. The Province itself and the Provincial Assembly were Conservative. Between the Governor and his Ministry there arose a dispute, and in spite of the fact that the Ministry was backed by the Legislature,

he dismissed it and called upon the Right Honorable Henry Joly de Lotbinière, the Opposition leader, to form a new Administration. The Assembly immediately passed a vote condemning the action of the Governor, and he promptly prorogued the session. The matter was brought up in the Ottawa House, but Mackenzie supported the Governor. The only way, however, that the Governor could be sustained really was by the electors of Quebec, and in the election which came on the Conservatives won, as usual. Sir John would never have allowed matters to go so far. As it was, however, as soon as he came into power he dismissed Letellier, which was the only thing to do. The triumph of Macdonald at this election clearly showed that the Canadian people had forgiven him his sins.

The snarl in Province of Quebec

In the fall of 1878, Lord Dufferin, his term having expired, left Canada with the respect of all who knew him. His name is preserved in the famous terrace of Quebec which overlooks the Lower Town and beautiful river. His successor was the Marquis of Lorne, whose wife was Princess Louise, the daughter of Queen Victoria.

Lord Dufferin leaves and the Marquis of Lorne is viceroy, 1878

Soon after his triumphal entry into office, Sir John Macdonald made a visit to England, which was attended by events most complimentary to himself and to his country. It was on this visit that he was sworn in as a member of the Privy Council, and received further marks of the esteem of the Queen and of the ruling authorities of England. He made other visits to England, and it was during the visit of 1884 that he received the Grand Cross of the Bath, which Lord Beaconsfield has declared is the highest meritorious distinction of the sovereign. John A.

Macdonald honored in England

Macdonald was a gentleman of quick wit and in thorough possession of his faculties. He moved easily among other gentlemen, and, as may readily be seen, the associations formed on these visits were agreeable. It was during his stay in England in 1885 that he intimated to Cardinal Manning that Canada ought to have a cardinal, and very soon after that Archbishop Taschereau was created cardinal, the only one which Canada has yet had; for that honor has been unknown ever since the death of the cardinal in 1898.

A Cardinal for Canada

The further history of the Macdonald Administration was a history of victories. The new National Policy, which went into effect about 1880, was most successful. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway from year to year at this time gave employment to large numbers of people, and was also a factor in the general prosperity of the country. As we have seen, the Liberals under Mackenzie did really nothing of consequence toward the building of the road for years. A beginning was made, however, on the construction of the road by the Government, and the Pembina branch, of 720 miles, was under way when Macdonald came in. He at once took up the task and handed over the construction of the road to a syndicate, headed by George Stephen, a merchant of Montreal, and Mr. Donald Smith, the former afterward Lord Mount Stephen and the latter Lord Strathcona. The road was pushed with vigor. Although it was to be done by 1891, it was actually completed by November, 1885. The company received from the Government subsidies amounting to $25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land, and other

The Canadian Pacific Railway completed, Nov. 7, 1885; first train run, June 13, 1886

liberal allowances. The last spike was driven November 7, 1885, by Donald Smith, and the first transcontinental train left Montreal for Vancouver, with Sir John Macdonald and Cabinet on board, June 13, 1886. The total length of the main line is 2,909 miles.

Again Macdonald wins elections

In 1882 a general election again occurred, and Macdonald's ministry was again sustained, Edward Blake, the Opposition leader, proving himself no stronger than Mackenzie had been. Lord Lorne, in October, 1883, relinquished his office as Governor-General of Canada, and was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne. There is very little to say regarding these recent viceroys. Since the formation of the Dominion the viceroy has been mainly a figurehead, and his success or failure has been a personal one. He has, or rather he exercises, no power, and his mission seems to be that of making himself agreeable, presiding with grace and ease at numerous functions, and contributing models of good taste and excellent phrasing. The old régime has entirely passed away, and Canada has become one of the most democratic countries on the face of the earth. So it is that the historian of this latter part of the nineteenth century is not called upon to deal in any detail with the acts of the Governors-General.

Lord Lansdowne viceroy

During these years also there was a general condition of peace throughout the Provinces. The school question had been settled in New Brunswick. The Catholics and Protestants got along fairly well together in the Province of Quebec, and the absence of any cause for Ontario's quarreling with Quebec on purely Provincial matters was also an aid to peace.

CHAPTER LV

THE SECOND RIEL REBELLION

THE Northwest was again to become a breeding-ground for trouble. The unfinished Riel rebellion of 1870 was to disturb Canadian statesmen. Riel, it will be remembered, was, legally, a fugitive from justice, but he was never apprehended, although he might readily have been. A few years later he was elected a member of the Dominion Parliament from Manitoba, but was denied a seat in that body. Why he was not arrested on appearing in Ottawa, no one can say, except that this caution and clemency on the part of the Government was due to a desire to prevent the stirring up of racial and religious strife. But it would have been very much better for Canada if Riel had been hanged in the first place, for hanged he had to be before they got through with him. The new rebellion of 1885 grew out of the old rebellion, and was directly connected with it. The old settlers, that is, the half-breeds, had been pushed to one side by the new immigrants from eastern Canada and from Europe. These old settlers went not only to western Manitoba, but also along the valley of the Saskatchewan River. They even penetrated to the Peace River section, eight hundred miles north of the international boundary (whither at this writing

Riel after 1870

A heritage of the old rebellion

The Northwest Territory and the Mounted Police

a large settlement is making). The Northwest Territory, where many of these people lived, was ruled by a Government and Council directed from Ottawa. It was in no sense an ideal government, but was undoubtedly well adapted to the needs of the time. As an adjunct to this Government there was constituted a body of men whose service and valor have made them known throughout the world, called the Northwestern Mounted Police. It was indeed, as it has been called, a little standing army. In 1882 this Northwest Territory was divided into four districts, with the territorial capital at Regina. These four districts were Alberta, Saskatchewan, Assiniboia, and Athabasca. It was in the heart of this Northwest Territory, in the valley of the Saskatchewan River, that this new uprising occurred.

Half-breeds roam into the Saskatchewan

A large number of the half-breeds and Indians, who had been pushed to one side by the onrushing tide of the immigration into Manitoba, had roamed far off into the Saskatchewan country. They were not farmers, for, if they had been, they could have remained in Manitoba and thriven as their neighbors did; but they were naturally of a roving disposition, and civilization was a curse to them. So, while they had villages of their own, they really lived from hand to mouth, and their greatest source of sustenance was the bison, which roamed the plains. But these bison were being killed off in a reckless manner by the new settlers, a wholly indefensible proceeding, the result of which was to drive the half-breeds into poverty and practically starvation. In this Saskatchewan region these half-breeds and Indians had been allotted land, but had not received patents or title deeds, and their de-

Trouble over land titles

mands upon the Government that they should receive these patents were not heeded. The Government probably thought it best to wait a year or so to see whether these nomadic people wished really to settle on the lands before giving them title deeds. Probably the matter was not handled very well. At any rate, the anger of the Indians and half-breeds was aroused to a dangerous pitch, which was not helped at all by the autocratic or listless demeanor of the Governor and his aids, and by the refusal of the Canadian Government to allow any of these settlers a part in the government. Their rebellious disposition being unknown in Ottawa, these settlers began to hold meetings, looking toward a redress of their grievances.

Blunders at Ottawa and elsewhere

It had been almost fifteen years since the Riel rebellion, but the memory of it had been handed down to the latest generation, and the name "Riel" was still one to conjure with. So, knowing that he was living in Montana, the discontented sent for him to come over and help them. He quickly agreed.

Riel sent for

At first he seemed to have learned a lesson from the past, and advised them to be moderate in their methods, to forward petitions to the Government, and to make a showing of the extremity of their needs. Later, when this did not seem to bring immediate relief, he lost control of himself just as he had done before, and allowed the riotous, rebellious, fanatical spirit in him to rule. He asserted that he was led by divine power to come as a liberator to his people; hence he called himself Liberator.

Riel's return and the outburst

In the spring of 1885 he organized a provisional government, with himself as president, and Gabriel Dumont, the leading half-breed, as his chief lieu-

Riel organizes a provisional government

tenant. The Government post at Duck Lake, near Prince Albert was at once seized by the Riel Government, and Prince Albert itself was in danger. Not far away was the village of Batoche, where the half-breeds, or Métis, were most largely centred, and it was there that Riel organized his government. After the seizure of Duck Lake, Major Crozier, in command of Carleton, the fortified post of Mounted Police, set out toward Duck Lake, not having heard that Dumont had seized it, and was turned back by the Riel force. With reenforcements he started again, and, after very much tribulation, encountered, on March 26th, a body of half-breeds not far from Duck Lake. A battle then occurred, in which the Canadians were badly routed, with a loss of twelve killed and seven wounded. The greatest damage to the Government, however, came in the demoralization of the troops and in the moral effect of the defeat on the Indians. Out of Winnipeg at once started a small force to assist the Mounted Police, and throughout Canada there was an instant response to the call for volunteers to put down this rebellion.

Rebels win first fight at Duck Lake, March 26

All Canada aroused

Massacre at Frog Lake

An Indian chief, called Big Bear, was attempting to cause an uprising of all Indians in the far west of the region. About the beginning of April he came to a little settlement on Frog Lake, near Fort Pitt, which was also in the neighborhood of Big Bear's own reserve. A party of Indians, under a chief called Traveling Spirit, engaged the Indian agent, Quinn, in a conference; suddenly they sprang upon him, disarmed him, and shot down a group of settlers, including two Roman Catholic priests. Some of the Indians there tried in vain to prevent

this massacre. The women, however, were spared. From Frog Lake the bloodthirsty wretches moved against Fort Pitt. There were stationed there only twenty-three British soldiers, under Francis Dickens, son of the novelist. The stores there were very few, but Dickens was unwilling to surrender them. The Indians proposed to him that he give them up on their promise to let him go free. He refused, and, crazed by rum and anxious for blood, they made an assault upon the fort. A hot fight ensued, in which the redskins were beaten; but no reenforcements appearing, and Dickens seeing that it was impossible to hold the fort much longer, destroyed all the ammunition and stores, and safely made his retreat down the river on an old scow, which was almost as dangerous to his party's safety as the Indians. Meanwhile a force of about 4,000 men was recruited from Ontario, Quebec, and even the Maritime Provinces, as well as Manitoba. General Middleton was in command. The troops proceeded by way of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had been completed to within two or three hundred miles of the scene of the revolt, and thus they arrived there in a comparatively short space of time in spite of numerous hardships.

Fort Pitt defended by Dickens's son

Troops arrive from the East

By this time the force of the victory of Riel at Duck Lake had extended to the large number of Indian tribes in that region, and their uprising threatened to be a very serious matter. It was really this fear which caused the Canadian authorities to organize such a large body of men for this expedition. The nearest point to Batoche reached by the railroad was Qu'Appelle, 324 miles west of Winnipeg. From that point General Middleton,

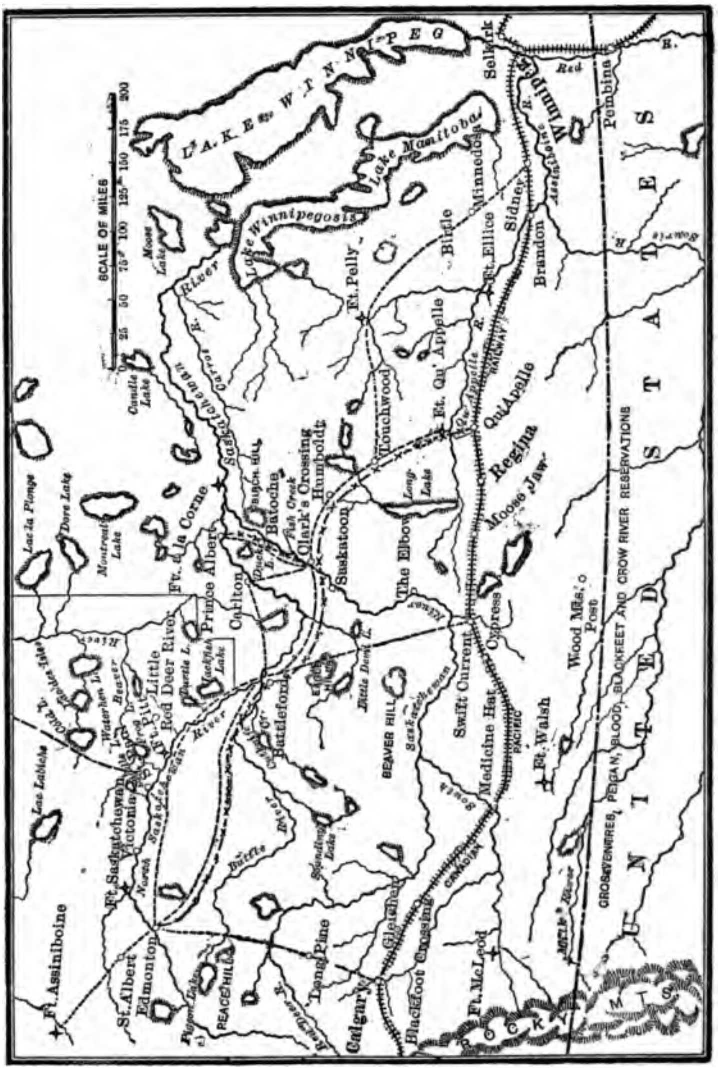
with a part of his force, numbering 1,000 men, marched rapidly toward Batoche. About fifteen miles from that place, where Fish Creek empties into the Saskatchewan, Dumont, the military commander of the rebels, had taken a stand, to oppose Middleton's advance. A slight encounter occurred there on April 24th, in which the advantage was with the half-breeds, since Middleton was unable to drive them away. On the following day, when Middleton attempted a flank movement, Dumont was wise enough to see the strength of his opponent's position, and withdrew to the neighborhood of Batoche. Middleton followed him there as rapidly as possible, and, on May 12th, in an assault upon Dumont's defense, he drove the enemy completely back and into utter confusion. The rebels fled in all directions. Batoche fell into the hands of the Government force, and the Riel rebellion was practically over.

Rebels encountered at Fish Creek

Meanwhile there was another campaign going on to the westward. Battleford stood about ninety miles west of Duck Lake, and 300 settlers had been since the opening of the rebellion besieged in the barracks there. It was to relieve this little band that a detachment of the soldiery started from Swift Current, about 100 miles west of Qu'Appelle, on April 18th. Five days later this little army of about 500 men had traversed the distance, making a new record in marching, it is said, and rescued the settlers, who had hung on with utmost courage for the five weeks of their imprisonment. Needless to say, the coming of the soldiers was welcomed with joy and thanksgiving. From that point a body of troops started out to find and capture Poundmaker, one of the Indian chiefs. They met

The siege of Battleford raised

Other expeditions



THE SECOND RIEL REBELLION

the redskins, and a lively fight occurred, at the close of which the Indians withdrew and the Canadians returned to Battleford in safety. There were minor campaigns of severity and excitement, and many lonely settlers were murdered by the reds and Métis.

Riel captured and found guilty

After the capture of Batoche, Dumont succeeded in escaping, but Riel was captured. Big Bear also was taken, and the whole insurrection collapsed immediately. Then came the trial of the conspirators. The Canadian Government determined that this should not be by court-martial, as it might have been, but by regular civil trial. Riel was found guilty and condemned to be executed. The Indians, Poundmaker and Big Bear, escaped with three years' imprisonment. The charges against the minor conspirators were soon dealt with, and most of them got light sentences. A long interval elapsed between Riel's arrest and execution in September.

Quebec tries to save him, but he is executed

Strenuous efforts were made to secure a commutation of his sentence. The French Canadian Roman Catholics of Quebec besought Sir John A. Macdonald, then Premier, not to allow Riel to die, but this was plainly a case where Macdonald was compelled to allow justice to be carried out. It was the only time in all his dealings with the French party that he flatly refused to compromise with them in any way. They threatened to turn against him, and really caused him a great deal of apprehension, but finally the excitement subsided. The only political effect it had was that in the general election of 1887 Quebec returned far fewer Conservatives than before to the Dominion Parliament. In other sections, however, the Government was sustained, and Macdonald kept his grip on power.

CHAPTER LVI

WILFRID LAURIER BECOMES LIBERAL LEADER

ONE year later, 1888, the term of the Marquis of Lansdowne as Governor-General of Canada expired, and he left that post to become Governor-General of India. His successor was Lord Stanley of Preston, afterward Lord Derby. It was this year also that Mr. Edward Blake resigned as leader of the Liberals, and Wilfrid Laurier was chosen his successor.

Lord Derby viceroy, 1888

Edward Blake is a man (for at this writing he is still alive) of extraordinary ability and great public experience. We have already seen how he was in and out of the Administration of Mackenzie, and it was believed by some that Mackenzie's failure was due to some extent to the lack of support which they felt he received from Blake. A great many of Blake's friends thought that he ought to have been made Premier, and this, combined with ill-health, made his participation in the Government not as effective as his great ability seemed to mean. He continued as a Member of Parliament from time to time, and in 1880 he became Liberal leader, in succession to Mackenzie. Mackenzie had fretted a great deal under the very clear opposition of a great many of his party. They felt that he ought to have won in the cam-

Edward Blake's characteristics

paign of the year before, and it was constantly said that Blake was the better man, and should succeed him. It is also said that Mackenzie had not called a meeting of the members of his party in Parliament during that session, and it was finally determined by a secret caucus of a majority of the members of that party that this should be held. It was at this meeting that steps were to be taken to oust him from his place. He, therefore, in the early morning of April 28, 1880, just before the time for adjournment of Parliament, arose from his place to announce his resignation from the position of leader. This act caused a sensation, as no one seems to have been informed of his purpose. But the meeting of his party proceeded the next day, and Blake was chosen leader.

Mackenzie's sensational act recalled

But Blake was no more successful than Mackenzie had been. In the first place, he was opposed by a leader against whom no Liberal apparently could win, and, in the second place, he was no more able to command the entire allegiance of his party than Mackenzie had been. He was, in many respects, hardly the man for leadership in politics. He did not have the passion for politics which all the other Canadian leaders have had. His interests were too purely intellectual. As a lawyer he was one of the greatest in Canada. But he was personally of too shy, sensitive, and delicate a nature to enter into the hurly-burly of partizan politics. In the contest between Macdonald and Blake, the latter might have all the facts on his side, and yet be badly defeated by his more resourceful and tactful opponent. A reading of the speeches of the two men in Parliament might show that, logically, Blake had utterly

Blake had no passion for politics

HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX, K.C.

Postmaster-General

vanquished his opponent in every clash. In the courts, as we might infer, Blake's logic won, and in constitutional arguments his efforts rank very high, often overcoming the contentions of Macdonald.

Blake's subsequent history

The subsequent history of Mr. Blake may be treated in this place. In 1892 he was chosen a member of the British Parliament from South Longford, and has worked strenuously for Home Rule. He sat in Westminster for fifteen years, recently retiring from public life, a permanent invalid. His health has often interfered with his success. When he became one of the counsel for the British interests in the Alaska boundary case, he overworked, was prostrated, and had to withdraw from the case, giving rise to the story that he foresaw the failure of the Canadian cause.

Laurier not the unanimous choice

But the Liberal Party had now, in 1888, a very different sort of man as its leader. In fact, it had its first real leader since the organization of the Dominion, a leader who could and did lead. The choice of Mr. Laurier for this position, on the resignation of Mr. Blake, was by no means a unanimous one. He was himself highly distrustful of his own powers, and urged that Sir Richard Cartwright be given the place. The name of Hon. David Mills of Ontario was the third one considered. At the meeting, however, on June 7, 1887, Mr. Laurier was chosen Blake's successor, largely through Blake's insistence. This was only a temporary appointment, and he himself ordered that it be so. There were a great many reasons why Mr. Laurier was not a unanimous choice of the Liberals for this position. In the first place, he was a French Canadian and a Roman Catholic, and no one had been

The first Catholic leader of a party

seriously considered as the leader of the Liberal Party, since Confederation, who was of that race and religion. In the second place, he had been very pronounced in his denunciation of the leader of the Government which executed Louis Riel, and in this attitude he was not supported by all the Liberal Members of Parliament. But he was the most available man in other particulars, and was very popular in the House, and commanded the respect of both parties. He had, in marked degree, some of the qualities which made Sir John A. Macdonald so powerful. The influence of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is now (1908) supreme in Canada, and it may be well worth while at this point, when he assumed the leadership, to glance back a little upon his history and see how he had obtained this place and why he was destined to hold it.

Laurier was born at St. Lin, in the county of L'Assomption, P. Q., November 20, 1841. His father was a land surveyor; his mother was Marcelle Martineau, a woman of great intelligence and rare gifts. She died when he was a child, and he was brought up by his stepmother, who had been a nurse in the family. She was a kind and sympathetic woman, and was well fitted to train the boy, and to her the great Canadian leader showed throughout her life marked devotion. Young Laurier's school life was such as to make him broad. He was for a year a pupil of the Protestant Elementary School at New Glasgow, where he learned English. He became acquainted there with a Mr. John Murray, a friend of his father, who kept a general store in the village, and often "clerked" in the store merely to get acquainted with the people and to learn their

Brought up among Protestants

languages. There he learned that a Presbyterian, such as Murray was, could be as good a Christian as a Catholic. It is important to notice these things about Laurier, for the experience that he enjoyed then was of great benefit in broadening his mind. It got him into trouble in later years, but it was worth all it cost.

The Institut Canadien

At the age of twelve he entered L'Assomption College, at Quebec, and went through the usual course there. He was graduated from McGill University in the law course, and at the same time studied law in the office of a Mr. Laflamme, at Montreal. Soon after moving to Montreal he joined the Institut Canadien, a literary and scientific society designed to broaden the minds of its members and to enable them to think clearly upon all social and political subjects. There is no part of the life in Quebec Province which is better worth the time of a student of religion in its relations to the State than the history of this organization, and the steps that were taken to crush it out of existence. This is not the place to tell that complete story, but its bare outlines must be given. Because the Institut attracted the attention of the most brilliant young men of the Province of Quebec, for it had local societies throughout the Province, the clergy began to take critical interest in it. It was designed at first to be composed wholly of French Canadians, but when it was opened to a Mr. Francis Cassidy, who was an Irishman, the clergy were angered, and began to attempt to crush it by starting opposition societies. There were several grounds for the opposition. The priests declared that the Institut was a secret organization, that it contained in its

Why the the priests opposed it

library immoral books, and that it had in its reading-room copies of papers which spoke disrespectfully of the Roman Catholic religion. The leader in this fight against the Institut was Bishop Bourget of Montreal, a thorough ultramontane. His first ground of attack was the allegation that the library contained immoral books, but, upon inquiry by a committee, he refused to name them. In this contest, which was waged for a number of years, the most extraordinary claims were made by the Bishop as to the power of the Church. It was boldly proclaimed that the Church had a right to dictate a man's political action. The Pope had declared against Catholic liberalism, which meant, of course, a movement in the Church in France and other Continental countries. Bishop Bourget and those of his belief transferred the term "liberalism" to apply to the Liberal Party of Canada, with the dictum in effect that no Roman Catholic should support a Liberal candidate. This was striking at the very heart of independence in politics, Liberals asserted, and was placing the members of the Liberal Party who were Roman Catholics in a most painful and terrible position.

Liberals affronted

The strange case of Joseph Guibord

The story of this attempt to substitute Church for State centred around the dead body of one Joseph Guibord. Guibord was a printer, and had been a devoted follower of Bishop Bourget, but became a member of the Institut, and refused to withdraw when the Bishop commanded the Roman Catholics to resign from it. On his deathbed he sent for a priest, but, acting under direct orders from the Bishop, the priest refused to administer the viaticum unless Guibord would withdraw from the

Institut. This he refused to do, and the last rites were not administered. He grew better, however, but suddenly died without a priest being called to his bedside. Application was made for permission to bury the remains in the Roman Catholic cemetery, and this was refused by the church authorities. The case was appealed to the courts of Canada until it reached the Privy Council of England. Before it was decided, Guibord's widow had died, leaving all her property to the Institut. The Privy Council, in its judgment, finally ordered that the body should be buried in the Roman Catholic cemetery, on the grounds that Guibord had not been excommunicated and he had a right to that burial. There was great excitement when the attempt was made to carry out this order, and when the cemetery was reached it was found that the entrance to it had been barred. Later, however, the body was buried in that Catholic cemetery, but the Bishop immediately ordered that the place of Guibord's burial should be declared unholy and desecrated, and should be set apart from the rest of the cemetery.

Contest with the Church over his place of burial

This incident caused a tremendous sensation throughout all Canada. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Toronto took exactly opposite grounds to Bourget, and finally the Pope himself was compelled to declare that the action of Bourget was not authorized. The upshot, however, of the persecution which the Bishop had carried on against the Institut was its dissolution, inasmuch as he had threatened with excommunication all Catholics who should belong to it.

The Pope takes a hand

In all these contests Wilfrid Laurier, then a young man of Montreal, took a firm and decided

Laurier largely involved

ground on behalf of the rights of the Liberals, and this stand rose to vex him in after years. It is very important to know how he became involved in this contest. It was a contest which stood for liberalism in its best sense, for freedom of thought and action, and for resistance to the attempt by a clerical authority to dictate a man's political principles. For it was probably by this very stand that he gained, in time, the strength and influence which he has with the Liberals of Canada.

Elected to Parliament, 1874

A few years after he began the practise of law at Montreal, he removed to Arthabaskaville, where he settled down into a practise, which became in time large. He was elected, in 1871, a member of the Legislature of Quebec, and soon attained distinction there by his ability and eloquence. Three years later, in the general election of 1874, when, it will be remembered, John A. Macdonald was defeated on the Canadian Pacific issue, Mr. Laurier was elected a member of the Dominion Assembly for Drummond and Arthabaska. From the very first, he took rank as a brilliant speaker. His first speech was delivered soon after the opening of Parliament and attracted attention all over the Dominion. The Toronto "Globe" referred to it in friendly terms, and Sir John Macdonald (speaking directly after him) warmly complimented Mr. Laurier. So rapidly did he gain distinction and power that in 1878 he was called to the Mackenzie Ministry and assigned to the portfolio of Inland Revenue.

Member of Cabinet, 1878

Then occurred a peculiar thing—perhaps the most mortifying and embarrassing of Mr. Laurier's political experiences. Having been chosen a member of the Ministry, he was compelled to go before his

constituents for reelection. By this time the tide of Conservatism and Protectionist sentiment was rising high. The Government had lost every seat in by-elections and it was a risky matter for almost any Minister to attempt reelection at that time; but Mr. Laurier was so personally popular at home and so generally respected by the members of the Opposition that it was believed at first that he would have no opponent. In this, however, he was soon undeceived. The Conservatives placed against him a Mr. Bourbeau, and poured into the district a large number of good workers and brilliant speakers. The old charge that he was "a friend of Guibord" was brought up against him. In fact the main issue in the canvass was the relations of Mr. Laurier and his party with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. It was a bitter contest, and at its close it was found that, although he had received a majority of 238 at the previous election, he was defeated by 29 votes in this contest. This was, as I have said, the most humiliating experience that Mr. Laurier ever had. It was feared for a moment that it would be impossible to get him another seat, but in Quebec East a place was found for him, and he was elected without serious opposition a couple of weeks after his defeat in Arthabaskaville. The jubilation with which the news of his victory was received was very unusual for a new member of the Ministry. Large processions greeted him at Quebec, at Montreal, and at Arthabaskaville, and when he arrived at Ottawa he was escorted from the station to his residence by an enormous crowd, bands of music, and over one hundred carriages. This shows how strong the man was. At no time since then has he

Up for reelection

Fought on the Guibord issue and defeated

Elected from East Quebec amid great enthusiasm

Laurier on Riel

ever had any difficulty in being elected from Quebec. He steadily kept up his good work in Parliament after the resignation of the Mackenzie Cabinet the next year, and, as we have seen, was popular enough to secure the place as Liberal leader on the resignation of Blake. The only criticism that Englishmen make upon his leadership is on his action in denouncing the execution of Riel. He expressed great sympathy with the cause of the Métis, and he addressed a great mass meeting at Montreal immediately after the execution, and took the ground, which some Englishmen, including Blake, held, that Riel was insane.

THE JESUITS' ESTATES SETTLED

THE next year, 1889, there came a settlement of the Jesuit Estates Act. It seems as if a majority of the controversies in Canadian affairs were over matters that ought to have been settled years before, but had been pushed to one side and deferred until a more opportune season. This method of dealing with these questions was very like the compromise of the slavery question by the people of the United States, and was no more successful. The clash had to come some time, and the longer it was delayed the more bitter was the strife over it. We have seen how the question of the clergy reserves vexed Canadians for half a century; the Jesuit estates were in the same class. It will be remembered that at the time of the settlement of the Jesuits in Canada large tracts of land were given to them by the Crown of France. After the Jesuits were suppressed by the Pope in 1773, these estates were confiscated by the Crown of England, then in possession of the country.

The Jesuits suppressed in 1773 and restored in 1814

In 1814 Pius VII restored the Order and immediately claims were made for a restoration of its estates in Canada. Nothing was done about this at the time, but, in 1831, in the face of these claims, the estates were set apart as a sort of higher education fund for both Roman Catholics and Protestants of Lower Canada. By the Act of Confederation they became vested in the Provincial Government. Soon afterward, the Jesuits and the Roman Catholic clergy began a campaign to recover these estates, and finally the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, under Mr. Mercier as Premier, authorized the payment of $400,000 as compensation for this land. The total value of these estates in 1888 was about $2,000,000, but the smaller amount was accepted to settle the controversy. Who should receive this money was left to the Pope. He ordered that it be divided among the bishops and archbishops of the Province, Laval University, and the Jesuit order. But what was to become of the Act of 1831, by which all of these estates were set aside as an education fund for Roman Catholics and Protestants?

The sum of $400,000 to be paid

Distribution by the Pope

The Protestants of Quebec made energetic protest against this settlement, by which they were to lose a large portion of their education fund, and by which, also, it was made to appear that the Pope, Leo XIII, was recognized as having civil authority in Canada. So another compromise was made to satisfy these Protestants, and $60,000 of the fund was allotted to the Council of Public Instruction for the benefit of Protestant higher education in the Province of Quebec. There was a great deal of opposition to the Protestants' accepting this

An amended settlement

The settlement stands

gift, such as there is to "tainted" money to-day, but it was finally applied to the bodies indicated. The Protestants of Ontario joined with the Protestants of Quebec in an attempt to compel the Dominion Parliament to disallow this act of the Quebec Legislature, but the Prime Minister, Sir John Macdonald, refused to interfere, and the settlement stands.

CHAPTER LVII

MACDONALD'S LAST VICTORY AND HIS DEATH

THE five years' term of the Government was not yet ended, but, as the Premier has the right to choose the time for the general election, Sir John suddenly decided in the winter of 1891 that the general election should be held in a month. He feared that if he waited much longer he might be defeated, owing to certain scandals in the administration of affairs and a general dissatisfaction of the country with industrial conditions. The same general feeling against the Government prevailed in the United States, and resulted in the defeat of the Harrison Administration the next year. Canada was by no means as prosperous as it had been. The census of 1890 had shown that it had grown only about one-half million in ten years, and the numerous disputes with the United States over fisheries and boundaries and tariff laid a heavy burden upon the Government. But Sir John reckoned with his usual shrewdness. The Opposition, under Mr. Laurier, made a powerful assault upon the Government's record and proved their case, but so wily was Sir John, and so powerful as a campaigner, that, while his majority was greatly reduced, he entered on his new term with twenty-seven in the lead, his greatest loss being in Quebec. Indeed, at that time

Conservatives win under unfavorable conditions

A greatly reduced majority

there was no Conservative Provincial Government in any of the large Provinces of Canada.

No sooner had the new Government entered upon its career than allegations of corruption were made against two of the Conservative leaders by Mr. Israel Tarte in his paper, "Le Canadien." One of these was Thomas McGreevy, Member of Parliament, and another was Sir Hector Langevin, Minister of Public Works. So strong was the evidence that Langevin was compelled to resign.

Sir John exhausted by the campaign

It had been a strenuous campaign for the Premier. Sir John had thrown into it all of his vigor and enthusiasm, but at a frightful cost. He had campaigned in February, and driven about from halls heated and suffocating to other halls in the same condition on bitterly cold nights, and the change of air and the severity of the cold would have made a younger and less vigorous man ill. On the night of the election he was in a critical condition, but rallied. He was in bed almost the whole month of March, and was not well throughout April. Symptoms of paralysis appeared in May, and he told his secretary, Joseph Pope, that he was afraid of paralysis, because both his father and mother died of it. He seemed to get better of this attack, however, but during the latter part of May he was found one morning with his left arm partly paralyzed. A few days passed, with alternate rallies and relapses, but on the 29th he received a second stroke, and on June 6, 1891, he died. The news of his death, although it was expected throughout Canada, caused the most general sorrow that the Dominion had ever known. While he could not, as Frontenac did, lie in his bedchamber and listen to the lamentations

Died June 6, 1891

of the crowd outside awaiting his demise, yet he must have known that his going out with the tide would bring real grief to the vast majority of the Canadians. The telegrams and letters of condolence which Lady Macdonald received were legion in number and most affecting in contents. The letter which the Queen wrote in her own hand to Lady Macdonald is so touching and so characteristic that even in this crowded history it must have a place. It follows:

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *July 2, 1891*

"*Dear Lady Macdonald:*

The Queen's letter of condolence to Lady Macdonald

"Though I have not the pleasure of knowing you personally, I am desirous of writing to express what I have already done my deep sympathy with you in your present deep affliction for the loss of your dear distinguished husband.

"I wish to say also how truly and sincerely grateful I am for his devoted and faithful services which he rendered for so many years to his Sovereign and this Dominion.

"It gives me much pleasure to mark my high sense of Sir John Macdonald's distinguished services by conferring on you a public mark of regard for yourself as well as for him.

"Your health has, I trust, not suffered from your long and anxious nursing. Believe me always,

"Yours very sincerely,

"VICTORIA, R. I."

The Queen made Lady Macdonald a peeress of the United Kingdom in her own right, with the title Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe.

Honors to his memory

The great man's body lay in state in the Senate chamber of the House of Parliament, and on Thursday, the 11th of June, it was borne to Kingston and laid in the cemetery near the grave of his mother.

On the following day memorial services were held in Westminster Abbey in London. Seventeen months later a bust was unveiled to his memory in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and an address was delivered by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Rosebery. Monuments to Macdonald are found in various places in Canada. To Hamilton belongs the honor to be the first city in Canada to so commemorate his fame, and a national monument is now in the course of erection at Ottawa.

Macdonald's long period of service

Thus passed away in many respects the greatest statesman that Canada has ever known—a man who enjoyed the longest period of political rule known to the whole British Empire. Macdonald was Premier of Canada from 1867 to the time of his death, in 1891, with the exception of five years, from 1873 to 1878, thus being Premier nineteen years. Previous to the Confederation he was Premier or joint Premier or the dominant Minister at least twelve or fifteen years. So that it is entirely safe to say that he was the active ruler of Canada for a period of about one-third of a century, a record which is not equaled in any other democracy, so far as I can learn. Such a success as this is the best proof possible of extraordinary political talents. It is more than that when we come to consider the problem which Macdonald faced, the reconciling of two Provinces of clashing nationalities, religions, and races.

Welded the races together

It is not too much to say that to John A. Macdonald, rather than to any other one man, is due the credit of blending these two races and peoples into an organic political unit. It is true, this union, for the purpose of government, was not complete.

The very existence of a supreme outside power made it impossible that this government should be ideal in theory. There are so many reasons why the people of Canada should not live together in any sort of peace that the accomplishment of their existence as a nation was a wonderful work, and Macdonald did more of this work than any other man. It was a great and magnificent achievement, and certainly it entitled Macdonald to be regarded and esteemed as one of the real statesmen of the nineteenth century.

A magnificent achievement

Naturally, all the people of Canada did not join in this opinion. Macdonald was the object of the fiercest hatred and most bitter antagonism. George Brown undoubtedly hated him and distrusted him, and Macdonald reciprocated the sentiment, which was probably as creditable to one as to the other. A great majority of Macdonald's political opponents, especially in Ontario, regarded him as fickle, insincere, dishonest, and secretly subservient to the Roman Catholic Church. The very existence of the Roman Catholic supremacy over politics in one Province made the other, the English-speaking Province, a hotbed of anti-Catholicism, which, we have seen, took shape in Orange societies. Some of these Orangemen used to regard John A. Macdonald as an ally of the Pope, and they then hated him much more bitterly than they hated any Roman Catholic, because they regarded him as a traitor to his religion and to his people. But Macdonald usually got the votes of most of the Orangemen. And he ultimately came to triumph over all these charges, and eventually built up for himself a reputation as a real, earnest laborer for his country.

Regarded as an ally of the Catholics

Macdonald devoted to Canada

That he was absolutely devoted to Canada over any other interest may be seen by his letters and speeches, and it came out most conspicuously in the reports which he sent home from Washington during the discussion of the Washington Treaty, at which Canada's interests in the fisheries were sacrificed. These letters are most intimate revelations of the patriotic, the sincere statesman attempting to be true both to his country near by and his country far away.

Macdonald's ambition

The one conspicuous defect in Macdonald's character was his ambition and desire for office, and his apparent disregard of the means which he took to secure his ends. The equivocal methods to which he sometimes resorted in his political campaigns are matters of common knowledge in Canada. You can hardly go into a village without meeting some man, either Liberal or Conservative, who can quote you an illustration of Macdonald's methods. If the man who tells you about these incidents is a Liberal, he may speak of them angrily; but if he is a Conservative he may chuckle over them as a good joke. Macdonald would not have stuffed ballot-boxes or committed crimes in order to secure election, but he fought tenaciously to achieve his ends, evidently prepared to do and to accept all things but one—defeat. Consistent with this habit of his early career were the undignified, often violent, discussions, so conspicuously absent from his later record, his papers, and his great speeches. Probably he entered into these campaigns with the idea of being altogether impeccable, but the great desire for success, and the fear of defeat combined to make him careless in accomplishing the result.

He was, however, with all his faults and with all his shortcomings, a most remarkable man, and one of real greatness.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY RECONSTRUCTION

THE majority by which the Macdonald Government was returned was, as we have seen, even after all of Macdonald's own efforts, a very small one, and from the day of his death it became assured that unless some miracle should happen the Conservative Party would be defeated. Mr. Laurier had said that his party could not succeed as long as Macdonald was alive. The reverse truth became perfectly apparent as soon as Macdonald died. The by-elections which followed the reconstruction of the Cabinet showed Liberal gains in almost every constituency. The head of the new Cabinet was Sir J. J. C. Abbott, but, after less than a year in his office as Premier, he resigned that position, remaining in the Cabinet without portfolio. Sir John S. D. Thompson succeeded him. The latter, however, died in 1894 while paying a visit to the Queen at Windsor. He was succeeded by Sir Mackenzie Bowell. The most important event of the early part of this Administration related to the Bering Sea fisheries. This was an old quarrel, like most of those between Canada and the United States. Only, in this case, it was the Americans who had the fisheries and who wished to throw out the rest of the world from the Alaska waters in which the seals abounded. The Americans claimed that Bering Sea was a *"mare clausum,"* or closed sea, and partly on that account no foreign vessels could fish there. The Canadians and other governments claimed that they had a right

Changes in Premiership

The Bering Sea dispute

to fish outside the three-mile limit. It is rather peculiar that the Americans, who had been transgressing the law constantly in Canadian waters, should try to throw out the rest of the world from their own waters, but possibly it was characteristic. This whole matter, however, which was attended with a number of tiffs and almost armed quarrels between the rival seal hunters, was at length, in 1893, referred to a court of arbitration. This court, which met in Paris, decided that the American contention of a *mare clausum* was not valid, but they laid down some regulations for the protection of seals. Both nations agreed to this provision, and the United States has since paid indemnity to the owners of vessels that were seized in Bering Sea.

The Paris award

CHAPTER LVIII

THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

IN the year 1895 came the last great question which the Conservative Government had to handle, and which was to prove its undoing, or at least to be the issue upon which it was to go out of power. This was the Manitoba school question. Manitoba in its new growth had been largely recruited from Ontario, and the people who formed a large proportion of this population were much inclined to the Protestant Orangemen's attitude which has been characteristic of Ontario. An act providing for the abolition of the separate-school system, which had prevailed in that Province since its early territorial days, was passed in 1890 by the Manitoba Legislature. The question at once became a national issue. The subject of the separate-school system has always been a burning one in Canada's politics throughout, but in almost every Province the system has been held as an integral part of the laws of the land. In Manitoba, as in almost every other Province, there was no financial benefit for the Roman Catholic schools, the people of that faith thus paying for these schools, although the payment was made in taxes, which was collected by the usual public officers. But against even such an arrangement as that the anti-Catholics

Manitoba votes to abolish separate schools, 1890

A national issue

of Manitoba rebelled. They felt that the system itself was inherently wrong, and they proceeded to demand its abolition. The Manitoban Roman Catholics were outraged at the attempt to abolish their schools, and they appealed from the Provincial authorities to the Dominion Parliament and Cabinet. Luckily for them, the British North America Act of 1867, under which the Dominion was established, had contained a specific provision guaranteeing that: "Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the time of the Union, or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in council from any act or dissent of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or the Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education." A further provision of the Act gave to Canada's Parliament the right to make any laws which would remedy any defect existing by reason of the Provincial Authorities' Act. It was therefore possible and legal for the Roman Catholics of Manitoba to take their case up to the higher court, and this they did. The settlement of this matter by the Cabinet was full of embarrassments. Sir John Thompson, who was Premier when it first came up, was a Roman Catholic, and naturally leaned toward the side of the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba. As to the rest of his Cabinet, it was impossible to determine their sentiments, but as a large percentage of them were Protestants, the subject was a live coal for the Ministry. In the recent election Quebec had been found wanting in Conservative allegiance. If now the Conservative

Guarantees in the Canadian Constitution

The Cabinet embarrassed

Government should decide against Roman Catholics in Manitoba, the result might almost wipe out the Conservative Party in Quebec and Manitoba. If, on the other hand, the Cabinet decided in favor of the Roman Catholics of Manitoba, Ontario would go violently against the Government. The end of the Government's term was near at hand. Elected in 1891, it could not serve longer than 1896, and it was from the first apparent that the election would be decided on this Manitoba question.

The legal fight made by the Catholics

The first step in the campaign of the Roman Catholics of Manitoba was a demand upon the Dominion Government to disallow the act of the Province. This was refused, the Ministry preferring to dodge the issue. The case was then turned over to the courts, and the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was that the legislation was constitutional. Then a second appeal was taken on the section of the British North America Act quoted above. But the Supreme Court decided that even under this section no right of interference was vested in the central government. The Judicial Committee, however, reversed this judgment, and found that the Governor-General in council had jurisdiction, and ruled that this jurisdiction should be exercised under a section of the Manitoba Act, which provides that the Parliament of Canada *must* pass remedial legislation when the religious minority had experienced grievances at the hands of the Provincial Government. It was this judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which placed the burden of the affair plainly upon the Ministry, a plight which we have described as being extremely embarrassing. The

Remedial legislation necessary

Arguments back and forth

Roman Catholic minority had secured the right to have relief. Now the question was whether the Government would grant that relief or not. It was while this subject was being agitated throughout the length and breadth of Canada that Sir John Thompson, Premier, died in Windsor Castle while on a visit to the Queen. The Government then had devolved upon Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who, far from being a Roman Catholic, was one of the leaders of the Orange order. Then ensued a number of communications from the Ministry and the Provincial Government of Manitoba back and forth, the replies of the Provincial authorities being especially able and clear. The subject took broad scope, and the argument was exceedingly well sustained on both sides. Lord Aberdeen, the Governor-General, summoned the Premier of Manitoba, Thomas Greenway, and his Attorney-General, Mr. Sifton, to Ottawa, and as a result of this conference a number of schemes were broached to stop the quarrel. But it was apparent that it was an irrepressible conflict and one that could only be decided by an election.

The Governor-General takes a hand

At length, after all this correspondence, it was decided that a bill must be introduced into Parliament providing for remedial legislation—in other words, that the Roman Catholics should have the rights restored which they had enjoyed under the territorial system. But while this measure was being prepared, rumors were afloat that the Ministry was divided on the subject. The by-elections showed clearly that the old strength of the Conservatives under Sir John A. Macdonald was fast disappearing, that the tide was ebbing, and, unless a

very decided check was given to the course of events, that party would be overthrown at the general election, which must come in the spring or summer of 1896. On January 2, on the very eve of the meeting of Parliament, one of the greatest sensations in all Canada's Parliamentary history came in the news of the resignation of six members of the Cabinet. This meant, of course, the utter demoralization of the Government and foreshadowed its certain defeat in the coming election. These six men were: Hon. George E. Foster, Sir Hibbert Tupper, Hon. John Haggart, Hon. Mr. Wood, Hon. Mr. Ives, and Hon. Dr. Montague. The desertion of the Premier by his colleagues at this point was a death-blow to the Administration and a fearful stab at the Premier himself. Although not of commanding figure and by no means a match for Macdonald or Thompson, Bowell was an honest and patriotic man, and was undoubtedly sacrificed to the jealousy of some members of the Ministry. It is altogether improbable that after Thompson's death any one could have led the Conservatives to victory, but nothing was gained for the party or for the country in this sudden and altogether unanticipated revolt of half the Ministry. The leader in this revolt was undoubtedly Mr. George E. Foster, against whom the Premier naturally became very bitter. Bowell was willing to make any sacrifice possible in order to bring success to his party, and finally accepted the compromise by which Sir Charles Tupper was to succeed to the Premiership after the session of Parliament had ended. Sir Charles was at that time and had been for a long term of years High Commissioner for

A sensational revolt in the Ministry

Bowell retires and Tupper becomes Premier

Canada in London, and he at once resigned that place in order to go home and assist in averting, if possible, a defeat to his party.

Government introduces a Remedial Bill

But if the situation was embarrasing for the Conservatives, it was no less embarrassing for the Liberals. Indeed, it was a strikingly peculiar "criss-cross" situation. By the irony of fate the party which practically was anti-Roman Catholic in this campaign was led by a Roman Catholic, and the party which espoused the Roman Catholic cause was led by an Orangeman or bitter Protestant. This shows the loyalty of each man to his party, but it will readily be seen that each one suffered because of his loyalty. A Remedial Bill was introduced soon after the session of Parliament met, which was on January 2, 1896. This bill embodied the distinct recognition of the system of separate schools in Manitoba, and provided the material for the organization and maintenance of those schools. This at once enlisted the sympathy and support of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which, we have seen, has at times felt bound to take an active part in political affairs. We have seen how Mr. Laurier was confronted at the outset of his political career with the opposition and even the antagonism of some chiefs of the church of which he is a member. We are now to see him engaged in another contest with that same faction. The bishops issued a mandement at the outset, bidding their people to accept only such candidates as would pledge themselves to the Government's program. No parties were mentioned, but it was plain that the Conservatives were to be favored. Archbishop Langevin of Manitoba made a tour of the eastern Provinces,

Catholic prelates denounce Liberals

RIGHT HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER, G.C.M.G., P.C.

preaching most vehemently against those who were inclined to favor the Liberal Party in Quebec. He declared that all who did not follow the hierarchy were not good Catholics. Father Lacombe, in the name of the Bishop, addressed a letter to Mr. Laurier, calling upon him to support the remedial legislation in Parliament. This letter was scattered broadcast by the press, and it was incumbent upon Mr. Laurier to give an answer to it.

Laurier's brave stand

This he did in Parliament when the Remedial Bill came up for the second reading and it was necessary that Mr. Laurier should declare the policy of his party. His speech on this occasion was a masterful one, and in every way worthy of his reputation and his previous Liberal utterances. He referred to the threat made against him by the Bishops, and declared that he should say no word of bitterness or criticism of his church, but he declared that he would not allow it to dictate to him on a political matter. He said: "I am here representing not Roman Catholics alone, but Protestants as well, and I must give an account of my stewardship to all classes. Am I to be told that I am to be dictated to as to the course I am to take in this House by reasons that can appeal to the consciences of my fellow Catholic members, but which do not appeal as well to the consciences of my Protestant colleagues? No. So long as I have a seat in this House, so long as I occupy the position I do now, whenever it shall become my duty to take a stand upon any question whatever, that stand I will take from the point of view that can appeal to the consciences of all men." He attacked the Government's program on the ground that it was dictatorial, hasty,

Attacks Government

and without sufficient knowledge of the facts of the case. He demanded that an investigation or inquiry should be made as to the exact situation by an unbiased, impartial commission, and he enforced his point with judicious and telling arguments which undoubtedly strengthened his position with his colleagues and with the country. His speech also had undoubted influence upon the Roman Catholic Bishops. Archbishop Walsh of Toronto was by no means so pronounced as his colleagues were, and maintained a discreet and moderate attitude, but some of the other clergy spared no words in denouncing Laurier. Bishop Lafleche of Three Rivers intimated that it would be almost a sin to vote for Mr. Laurier and the Liberal candidates. It was a veritable hue and cry which they raised and they seemed to be bending all efforts toward the utter annihilation of the Liberal Party. Meantime, however, all the signs for the coming election pointed in the opposite direction. The by-elections continued to show almost invariably Government defeats and always large Government losses. The Remedial Bill, it was found after a desperate struggle, could not pass before the dissolution of Parliament, which was soon coming by constitutional limitation. The Government had the large majority of 53 on the ordinary measures, but when the bill was read a second time, this majority had dwindled to 18, which included six Catholic Liberals. From that time onward the Opposition entered upon a course of deliberate filibustering. Sir Charles Tupper, now the leader of the Government, was compelled, on April 16th, to announce that, with only one week left for the consideration of the necessary appropriation

Opposition to Laurier continues

Government unable to pass Remedial Bill

bills, it was impossible to carry on the discussion of the Remedial Bill. Thus the Government went to the country on a measure which with a majority of 53 it was unable to pass, a position which augured very badly for their success at the polls.

Sir Charles Tupper's wonderful campaign

Parliament was dissolved on April 23d, and Sir Charles Tupper, as Premier, at once reorganized his Ministry in the desperate attempt in the last moment to secure the confidence of the country. But this reorganization added very little strength to the Government, since the men whom he needed most saw the handwriting on the wall and declined to be identified with a losing cause. The fight that Sir Charles Tupper made for his party in this campaign was, however, an extraordinarily active and vigilant one. Although seventy-five years of age, he made a powerful canvass of all parts of the Dominion except the Pacific Coast. He preached the Conservative doctrine in the old Macdonald style, and succeeded in arousing an enthusiasm which no one deemed possible. He even carried the war into Manitoba itself, opening his campaign there and making such a powerful presentation of the Conservative attitude as actually to transform the political opinion of that Province, one of the most peculiar and inexplicable phenomena ever seen in politics. Mr. Laurier, on the other hand, while not possessing the physical vigor of his elder rival, made a very telling fight in Quebec and Ontario.

Laurier campaigns under difficulties

It is not pleasant to mention the assaults which were made on him and others of his faith and party from the pulpit, and I shall not attempt to give them in detail. They were peculiarly wounding to a man of Mr. Laurier's delicate and sensitive temperament,

and it must have been most painful experience to him, but through it all he maintained an undeviating attitude, whether speaking in the Orange Province of Ontario or the Catholic Province of Quebec. His pose and voice were admirable, and he was able to see his words win adherents in spite of the opposition of some leaders of the church to which belonged most of those who listened to him. If these leaders had been passive, the Liberals would have achieved a greater triumph, but the result was decisive if not tremendous.

LIBERALS SWEEP CANADA

Quebec shifts to Liberal

THE Liberals' majority was 48, but their greatest triumph was in the French Roman Catholic Province of Quebec, which the Conservatives had held ever since the Dominion began and long before that time. There only 17 Conservative candidates to Parliament were elected out of 65. In Ontario, out of 92 seats the Liberals carried 44. The Conservatives had 45, and the Patrons of Industry, who were in sympathy with the Liberals, had three, but four of the Conservatives were avowedly against the Government's Manitoba policy, leaving a substantial Liberal majority in that Province. In Nova Scotia there were eleven Liberals and nine Convervatives, which was a hard blow to Sir Charles Tupper. The Conservatives carried New Brunswick, electing eight and the Liberals five, and one was an Independent. In Prince Edward Island the Liberals secured three of the five seats. In Manitoba three Liberals were elected, but the Government secured a majority. In the territories and British Columbia seven of the ten seats were won by the Liberals.

A hard blow to Tupper

A significant lesson in religious freedom

It was a great victory for Liberalism in the broadest sense. It not only paved the way for a settlement of the Manitoba question, but it showed clearly to certain Catholic leaders what they apparently had never realized before, that their people would no longer follow them in political opinion, and any attempt on their part to dictate how their people should vote would have exactly the force of a boomerang. Few lessons in religious freedom have been more clearly taught than those received in the Canadian general elections of 1896.

THE SCHOOL SETTLEMENT

Religious instruction permitted

NATURALLY, the first business on which the new Ministry should address itself was that of the Manitoba school question. Mr. Greenway, the Prime Minister of Manitoba, made a journey to Ottawa soon after the organization of the new Government, and in a very short time an agreement was made and was passed by the Manitoba Legislature, providing for religious instruction in the schools whenever desired. This religious teaching should take place between the hours of 3.30 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It should be of a character such as the residents of that district and the patrons of the schools desired. There were regulations by which, if the building was large enough, the children should receive separate religious instruction in one room from those in another room, thus giving the Protestants and the Catholics an opportunity to be taught their own faith. There were many other regulations in the act, but these are the main ones, and the principle was maintained and enforced that religious instruction should be

Arrangement works well

given and that each religious party should have a right to receive the instruction it desired. Such a regulation in Canada has been found to work well, and the success of the Manitoba agreement was pronounced, and the subject has almost wholly disappeared from the politics of that Province.

CHAPTER LIX

CANADA UNDER LAURIER

THE first great question which confronted the new Liberal Ministry after the settlement of the Manitoba school difficulty was the tariff. The Liberal Party was, by tradition, a free-trade, or at least a low-tariff, organization, and the great body of the voters naturally expected a lowering of the tariff soon after election. Indeed, there is a well-authenticated story of a farmer living just across the Manitoba line, in North Dakota, who, the day after the Canadian election in 1896, hauled a load of wheat across the boundary into Manitoba, assuming that, because of Laurier's election, free trade existed between the two countries. During the winter of 1896 the Minister of Finance, Mr. Fielding, was very deeply engaged in the study of the tariff question in its relations to the manufactures of Canada, of Great Britain, and of the United States. Various rumors and reports came from Ottawa as to the general scope of the new tariff, but nothing definite was known. It became evident to all keen observers that the unsatisfactory tariff conditions between Canada and the United States were to become even more unsatisfactory. The reason was obvious. In the same year that the United States elected a high-tariff Administration, Canada had

People expect low tariff

Framing a new tariff

elected a low-tariff Administration. Thus these two countries, side by side, were pulling in exactly the opposite directions. Another fact became apparent; namely, that the effect of these two forces would almost surely be net protection, for the course of all the world's tariffs to-day is higher. And the United States, as the traditional and pioneer high-tariff country, would not only be sure to obey that tendency, but would rather lead it, and, being the stronger and larger country, would, by virtue of these facts, force Canada along on the same road, or, at any rate, retard Canada's progress toward lower tariff.

Trying to arrange reciprocity with the United States

Still, there were fond hopes at Ottawa that an agreement might be reached looking toward reciprocity. And a committee, headed by Mr. John Charlton, M.P., went to Washington in January, 1897, to learn the status of the reciprocity movement. It did not take them very long to learn that the Republican Administration was determined to raise the tariff, and was very little disposed to consider reciprocity. We know that a good many schedules in the Dingley Tariff bill were placed very high for the purpose of using these high schedules to trade on in forming reciprocity treaties. But no declaration to that effect was ever made, of course, and almost no use has ever been made of those high schedules in reciprocity negotiation. Mr. Fielding was, therefore, forced to turn his attention away from better and larger trade relations with the United States and seek a market elsewhere. Naturally, the market he sought was Great Britain.

Fielding seeks a market elsewhere

On the 22d of April, 1897, Mr. Fielding made his budget speech, which really put into effect the new

tariff. This was a reciprocal tariff bill, providing that all countries which should enter into reciprocal tariff relations with Canada should have the benefit of a reduction of tariff, amounting to one-eighth up to June, 1898, and to one-fourth thereafter. This preference was promptly accepted by Great Britain and by no other country. It was designed to be a British preferential tariff; but, a short time after it was passed, the British Colonial Office advised Canada that, because of treaties between Great Britain and Germany and Belgium, by which they were guaranteed the rights of the most favored nations, Germany and Belgium would have to have the same tariff privileges as Great Britain, and, once Belgium and Germany had these rights, all other countries would have them. This was, of course, nullifying the intent of the act, but nothing could be done until Great Britain had denounced its treaties with Germany and Belgium. This was done the next year, and the British preferential tariff became a real fact. The tariff duties, however, which Mr. Fielding announced bore the slightest resemblance to free trade, and, indeed, were very little lower than those levied by the Conservative Government. The new tariff, however, was moderately successful. Times were improving anyhow, and the country was in a more generally prosperous condition.

The new tariff a reciprocal or preferential affair

About this time, the early part of 1897, came the news of discovery of gold in the Klondike, a vast region in Northwest British America. This was one of the great gold strikes of history, and is so familiar as to need only reference. Its effect, however, was, of course, to increase the amount of gold in circulation and stimulate business in Brit-

Gold in the Klondike

ish Columbia directly and indirectly all over Canada and the United States.

Laurier knighted at the Queen's Jubilee

The improved condition of the country was a happy omen for Mr. Laurier's visit to England in the summer of 1897, to participate in the Victoria diamond jubilee. This jubilee, marking the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's reign, began on June 20th and lasted three days. It was one of the most imposing demonstrations of imperial pomp and power ever seen in the world, and made the heart of the British nation beat strong with pride. Mr. Laurier was everywhere received with great honor. He was knighted and received the decoration of G.C.M.G. At the same time Sir Donald Smith, who had been high commissioner in London since Sir Charles Tupper retired, April 24, 1896, was created Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, after the jubilee, proceeded to Paris, where he was received as heartily and cordially as in London. In fact, the warmth of the Gallic reception exceeded

Honored also in France

that of the Saxon. His conspicuous honor in Paris was receiving the ribbon of the Legion of Honor from President Faure. He afterward went to Rome, where he secured an interview with Leo XIII on the Manitoba school question. It was a great tour for the Premier, and he returned to Canada laden with honor to receive the congratulations and hearty welcome home of almost the entire Canadian people. A certain amount of criticism of Laurier was made when he accepted knighthood, as it was understood that the year before he had declined it, and it was hoped by the more democratic of his countrymen that he would persist in his refusal and enrol himself among the great commoners like Mr.

Gladstone, Mr. John Bright, and Mr. Chamberlain. But few blamed the Premier in the long run, and to no one certainly does the honor of knighthood seem to come with greater fitness.

The sealing dispute

In November, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. L. H. Davies, Minister of Fisheries, went to Washington to discuss the sealing dispute. The result of this visit was the formation of the Joint High Commission, which met the next year.

Among the domestic events of the year none was more interesting to Canadians than the contest over Sunday street cars in the city of Toronto. This city is the Sabbatarian stronghold of Canada, and had attained by this time a population of about 200,000, without Sunday street cars. A vote was taken on it on May 15th, and resulted in 16,372 for to 16,051 against the change. Since that time street cars have run regularly in Toronto on Sunday.

A plebiscite on prohibition

Early the next year, 1898, in response to demands from all sections of the Dominion, a plebiscite bill on the prohibition question was passed by Parliament. The vote was taken on September 20th. It showed a majority for prohibition in every Province except Quebec. Ontario gave 39,406; Nova Scotia, 29,308; New Brunswick, 14,305; Prince Edward Island, 8,316; Manitoba, 9,441; Northwest Territories, 3,414; while Quebec gave a majority of 94,080 against, leaving a net majority for the law of 13,687. This majority was so small that Sir Wilfrid Laurier regarded it as insufficient to authorize him to make the change. So, after considerable debate on the subject, he declined to do so. For this decision he was criticized, and prop-

erly so, by the ultra-temperance element throughout the Dominion.

The Spanish-American war

It was during this year, 1898, that the American war with Spain took place, and in this contest Canada was much interested. Undoubtedly a number of regiments could easily have been enlisted in Canada for service in Cuba against the Spaniards, but there was no need of their services and no call for them. The proximity of Canada to the United States, the fact that it was neutral ground, made it the temporary abiding-place for a number of Spaniards who were driven out of the United States. Considerable excitement at one time was caused by the finding of a nest of Spanish spies in Halifax and other cities of Canada. These spies, however, were speedily arrested by the Canadian authorities and driven out of the country. Canadians had no sympathy with them.

Joint High Commission

It was just after the signing of the peace protocol that there met at Quebec, on August 23d, a conference, called a Joint High Commission, regarding the questions at issue between the United States and Great Britain. The British delegates to this conference were Baron Herschell, representing Great Britain, with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright, Sir L. H. Davies, and Mr. John Charlton, representing Canada, and Sir James Winter representing Newfoundland. The United States commissioners were Senators George Gray and Charles W. Fairbanks, Hon. John A. Kasson, Hon. Nelson Dingley, ex-Secretary John W. Foster, and Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge. It was determined that this conference should take up the sealing question, the fisheries, the Alaska boundary, shipments

in bond, alien labor laws, reciprocity, and several other important issues. After various meetings and conferences, the conference adjourned on October 7th, and met again at Washington on November 10th. It was in session at Washington for several months, but the upshot of it all was failure to agree on any subject. From the very first the question of the Alaska boundary was regarded as too intricate for anything but a separate tribunal. The other questions were dwarfed beside the one of reciprocity, and when the Canadian delegates found out that the Americans could promise them really nothing certain on any reciprocity program, they saw that the failure of the Joint High Commission was assured, and it came to an end. From that time to this no really serious attempt to secure a reciprocity treaty between the two countries has been made.

Failure to agree

Among the other important events of 1898 was the payment by the United States of the Bering Sea award of $478,000. This award was made in 1892, but the United States had shown no special hurry in paying over the money. The beautiful statue of Champlain, which stands on the Dufferin Terrace by the Château Frontenac in Quebec, was unveiled on September 21st. A few weeks later, on November 12th, the Earl of Minto arrived at Quebec and was sworn in as Governor-General, succeeding the Earl of Aberdeen. The Earl and the Countess of Aberdeen were very popular in Canada and in the United States, which they visited frequently. It can not be said that the Earl exercised great influence upon Canadian affairs, but that is practically impossible for any man to do under the Confederation. The Earl of Minto followed largely in the

Lord Minto Governor-General, 1898

same path as Aberdeen. He was perhaps more conservative than his predecessor, and much more than his successor, Earl Grey, the present Governor-General.

The death of Cardinal Taschereau

On April 12th occurred, at Quebec, the death of Cardinal Taschereau. The aged prelate was made Cardinal in 1886, after Sir John A. Macdonald's suggestion was conveyed to the Pope. He was a kind and noble-hearted man, and exercised his duties in a broad, liberal way. His entire life had been spent in Canada, and he belonged to a family that has occupied a proud position in Quebec up to the present time. Since the Cardinal's death there have been various rumors as to his successor, but, so far, no one has been appointed. It is a singular circumstance that this post should have been vacant for a decade. The exact reason for the delay has not been made public. Among the other deaths of the year was that of William Ewart Gladstone, which occurred on May 19th.

THE BOER WAR AND CANADA

Canada generally sympathizes

THE year 1899 is a momentous one in British history for it saw the beginning of the Boer War. The general history of this contest is too well known to require any statement here. There is no doubt that, as a whole, Canadians sympathized with the mother country in her attitude in this struggle. But there was considerable unrest, and some criticism in the French Province, which was to make its active appearance later. At the beginning of the struggle a resolution, expressing the sympathy of Canada, was introduced and passed by Parliament without serious opposition, but no step was taken to render any

tangible assistance to England in the coming war. Meanwhile, Queensland, New Zealand, and other Australasian countries were organizing troops to be sent to the front. This seemed to indicate that Canada was backward. After war had really started, Sir Wilfrid Laurier explained his failure to offer troops on the ground that this was a Parliamentary act and the Ministers could not assume such responsibility before Parliament met. Nevertheless, a steady pressure began to be exerted on the Government from all sections of the country, except Quebec, in favor of sending troops to South Africa. Sir Charles Tupper, the leader of the Opposition, declared that this ought to be done, and urged the Premier to do so. Only nine days after the Laurier interview, in which he intimated that no troops would be sent, Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, announced that, because of the need of quick action, it had been decided to send a small force to South Africa. This force was to consist of eight units of 125 men. The movement was to be an entirely voluntary one, and Canada would be responsible for the force only until its arrival in South Africa. Canada responded with alacrity and enthusiasm. The force was rapidly got together and sailed from Quebec on October 30th. It consisted of 1,019 men under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Otter. However popular this step was with the people of Canada as a whole, it was resented by many French Canadians. Prominent among these was Henri Bourassa, M.P., of Labelle, Que., who, rather than support in Parliament the action of the Government, resigned his seat. He was at once re-elected on the anti-war issue and returned to Parlia-

Government suddenly takes action after declining

Force sails Oct. 30 under Colonel Otter

ment as a free lance, allying himself usually with the Opposition on Imperial matters.

The total force sent by Canada

While on the subject of the Transvaal War, it may be well to recapitulate the exact number of troops furnished by Canada to this war. In addition to the first contribution were the Canadian Mounted Rifles, 398 officers and men; the Royal Canadian Dragoons, 379 officers and men; the Royal Canadian Artillery, 539 officers and men; Lord Strathcona's special corps, 597 officers and men—all these sent out in 1899-1900, and making a force of 3,092 officers and men. In 1901 a second force of Canadian Mounted Rifles of 900 men and 1,200 men for the South African Constabulary were sent out. Early in the year 1902 the Second Regiment, Canadian Mounted Rifles, was despatched, 900 men strong. They returned in July. In April, four regiments, the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Regiments Canadian Mounted Rifles, comprising over 2,000 men, went to the front, but saw no service, were on land only a week or so, and returned home in September. These, together with the 1,004 who volunteered for special garrison duty at Halifax, in order to permit the Imperial troops stationed there to go to the front, make an aggregate of 9,200 officers and men. This was not a heavy contribution, considering the number of men in the service during the War of 1812, and a very small number compared with that of any small State of the North during the American Civil War, but it was a source and occasion of much wrangling and debate. The Canadian troops conducted themselves with distinction, and some won great glory. The usual investigations followed. Colonel Otter was charged with

Not a heavy contribution

harsh treatment of his men. His reputation in the end did not suffer. The total cost of the war to Canada was about $2,000,000, which was borne cheerfully by the country. The service was not a deadly one, for the number of deaths from action and disease up to October 1, 1901, was only 176.

The elections of 1900

The year 1900 in Canada was notable only for the general elections, which were not at all exciting. The resentment over the Manitoba School Act seemed at an end, and this circumstance, together with the inharmonious condition of the Conservatives and the general prosperity of the Dominion, gave the Liberals an easy victory of 73 majority in the House of Commons. The Maritime Provinces went Liberal by 15 majority, whereas the Conservatives four years before carried them by 5 majority. The Conservatives raised their majority in Ontario from 3 to 18, but carried only 7 of the 65 districts in Quebec, a loss of 9. In the West the Liberals gained 3 and the Conservatives lost 1 seat.

Census of 1901

The taking of the census in 1901 showed a total for the Dominion of 5,370,000 population; of which Manitoba contained 254,947; British Columbia, 177,272; New Brunswick, 331,120; Nova Scotia, 459,574; Ontario, 2,182,947; Quebec, 1,648,898; Prince Edward Island, 103,259; British Columbia, 177,272; and the Northwest Territories, including the Yukon, 211,649.

The death of the Queen

The chief event of interest to Canadians in the year 1901 was the death of Queen Victoria, which took place on January 22d. The Queen had been in failing health for some time, but it was not until the 18th of January that it was announced that her faculties were beginning to fail. The end came peace-

Queen Victoria's character

fully, and thus passed out of life the greatest woman monarch that the world has seen since Elizabeth. This is not the place to recapitulate or review the great achievements or events of her reign. The present democratic government of Great Britain does not dissociate the Monarch from the Ministries, and we can not tell how much the success of the reign of Queen Victoria was due to herself and how much to her counselors. All we can know is that she showed good judgment in all crises, and that she learned to rely upon wise men. As for her private life, it was without a blot, and she was a good example to all the world. The Queen was a good woman and a good churchwoman, and her attitude toward all public questions was that of honesty and virtue. The impression she made upon Canada, as upon all other British countries, was deep, and so was the sorrow because of her death. The Address to the Crown that was passed by the Canadian House of Parliament and the various addresses and sermons and newspaper articles all had the same tone. There was no dissenting voice.

The welcome which was given the new King was hearty, but without affection. To the Monarch only were the cheers. But since that time the body of Canadians has grown to esteem the King highly and to regard him as a real statesman.

Visit of the Duke of Cornwall

The year was otherwise notable to Canadians for the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, afterward Prince and Princess of Wales, who came to Canada on their way home from Australia, after taking part in the opening of the First Parliament of the new Commonwealth of Australia. The

royal party landed at Quebec and received a royal welcome in all the cities of Canada, traveling throughout the entire Dominion, from Quebec to Vancouver and back again, closing their visit on October 21st at Halifax. This was a tremendous event to Canada, and gave the country its first view of a royal family since the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860. There were the usual parades and banquets and receptions and balls and outpouring of people. There were also the usual heartburnings and regrets. For the reception at Montreal the city had made great preparations, only to have the great event—a ball—canceled because of the death of President McKinley. The honors that were distributed after the visit were not as great as had been expected, and much disappointment was felt.

A royal welcome

Among the other events of the year was the purchase, by the Dominion Government, of the Plains of Abraham, site of the Tercentenary ceremonies.

The assassination of President McKinley of the United States, occurring as it did in Buffalo, just across the Niagara River from Canada, brought vividly home to Canadians the nearness of their interests to those of the United States. President McKinley, although typifying a policy which was antagonistic to Canada commercially, was much respected by the Canadian people. His private and personal virtues were fully appreciated and highly esteemed, and the integrity of his public life and the high ideals that he held on men and measures were admired by the vast body of Canadians. Hence the sorrow over his death was almost as pronounced in Canada as in the United States, and the tragedy was regarded by the Canadians in many places as a be-

The assassination of President McKinley

reavement second only to that of the Queen, which they had suffered the same year.

Tupper retires

During this same year a change took place in the leadership of the Conservative Party. Sir Charles Tupper, who had been chief since 1896, and had been identified with the party from its organization in the Dominion, resigned his leadership in a letter which was written on November 7, 1900, and made public on January 17, 1901. His reasons for his resignation were his great age and the necessity of younger blood in the control of affairs. It is remarkable that Sir Charles Tupper has retained his faculties and his activities at such a great age. He was born July 2, 1821, and although he was eighty years of age when he resigned, he was then, and now is, in good health and excellent mental vigor, and his views are still sought with eagerness and respect by Canadians of all parties. Although not one of the greatest figures in Canada's history, that is, not ranking side by side with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, he still belongs very near them, and there is no one in Canadian history since the Dominion who is held in greater respect than he. It was his misfortune and not his fault to have had the leadership of the Conservative Party when opposed to it was one of the greatest political geniuses of the age, and when all the national forces ran along with the Liberal Party.

Borden becomes Conservative leader

At a meeting of the Conservative parties of the House of Commons on February 6, 1901, Sir Charles Tupper's successor was elected in the person of Robert Laird Borden, K.C., M.P. for Halifax. Mr. Borden's has been a thankless task, and yet he

has filled the place with credit and even distinction. He has upheld Laurier's hand in any non-political crisis, and he has led a dignified opposition in political questions, and on measures where the principles of his party would not permit him to agree with the Premier. But he has achieved no striking success, and was himself defeated for election to Parliament in 1904 in Halifax, and was compelled to find a seat in Ontario. Mr. Borden is a lawyer of high standing and a speaker of dignity and competency.

Early in the year 1902, on February 12th, occurred the death of the Marquis of Dufferin, who was Governor-General of Canada from 1872 to 1878. The news of this event was received with much regret in Canada, and appropriate meetings were held throughout the Dominion.

The coronation

In the summer of this year occurred the coronation of the King, and this was the occasion of a visit to England of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and various other eminent Canadians. The pride of the British nation in the new reign was strikingly manifest on this occasion, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the recipient of many honors during the festivities. The coronation of the King and Queen, which was scheduled for June, was postponed, on account of the sudden illness of the King, until August 9th, when it took place at Westminster Abbey. During all this time, from June to August, the Imperial Conference was held to take into consideration relations between the colonies and the mother country and to propose to carry through, if possible, a scheme for federation which was the creation of Mr. Chamberlain and very dear to his heart. It is useless at this

Imperial Conference meets

time to go into this scheme, for no progress has ever been made in carrying it out, and the British nation is at the present time without any definite policy or program looking toward a closer alinement of the colonies with the mother country. The strongest bond that binds them to-day, aside from that of history and race, is that of sympathy and affection.

The new transcontinental railway

The project for a new transcontinental railway made the year 1903 industrially significant. The scheme when finally presented to Parliament by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on July 31st, provided for the building of a new line from Moncton, New Brunswick, through Quebec to Winnipeg and the Pacific Coast at a terminus then not fixed, but now known to be Prince Rupert. The road is to be divided into two parts; the Eastern, from Moncton to Winnipeg, which is to be built by the Government, and the Western, from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert, to be built by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company. Provision was made for a lease of the Eastern section by the company and its purchase after fifty years. This company is practically the same as the Grand Trunk Railway Company. Sir Wilfrid estimated the cost at $13,000,000. There were provisions for Government assistance in the guaranteeing of the bonds of the new company and various other financial arrangements, which were, in 1905, somewhat modified. The Conservatives, under Mr. Borden, opposed the scheme, Mr. Borden offering as a substitute a plan for a part rail, part water route, which would cost, the Liberals alleged, $127,000,000. The measure passed its third reading in October by the usual majority.

Government assistance

Another important act at this session was the Parliamentary distribution following the census of 1901. By its terms the House of Commons contains 214 members, of which Quebec has, of course, the 65 guaranteed by the Constitution; Ontario 86, a loss of 6; Nova Scotia 18, a loss of 2; New Brunswick 13, a loss of 1; Prince Edward Island 4, a loss of 1; Manitoba 10, a gain of 3; British Columbia 7, a gain of 1; Northwest Territories 10, a gain of 4; and 1 for the Yukon. The basis was 1 for every 2,500 people. Parliamentary distribution

The death of Sir Oliver Mowat, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, occurred on April 19, 1903. It would be difficult to find in Canada, and especially in Ontario, a man more beloved than he. His whole life was passed in Ontario, and he was Prime Minister of the Province for nearly twenty-four years. In this way he became very intimately associated with the people of the Province, and they never failed in their affection for him. One may to-day find pictures of him throughout Ontario and in the dwellings of Ontario people who have removed to the far West, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and even in North Dakota, where American residence has not removed the impression of affection felt for this fine man. Although his name does not often occur in Federal matters, he had great influence in Canada as a whole. He was one of the Fathers of the Confederation, and afterward won six consecutive general elections for the Liberal Party in Ontario. In 1896, when his party came into power in the Dominion, he accepted an office in the Ministry, but did not remain there long, retiring the next year to become Lieutenant-Governor of his Death of Sir Oliver Mowat

Province. His funeral called together one of the most noted bodies of men ever seen together in Canada, and his death was deplored from one end of the Dominion to the other.

Death of Justice Mills

The next month saw the death of David Mills, Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada. He was Sir Oliver Mowat's successor as Minister of Justice, and occupied that position five years, going on the Supreme Bench in 1902. He was a man of great force and usefulness. He had been in both Houses of Parliament, and was a professor in the University of Toronto before and after entering the Cabinet.

MR. CHARLES M. HAYS

President Grand Trunk Pacific

CHAPTER LX

THE ALASKA BOUNDARY

THE most important event of the year 1903 was the settlement of the Alaska boundary dispute. This subject had been one of the most fruitful sources of contention between the United States and Canada for years. There had been numerous attempts to settle it, the most recent being the Joint High Commission, which found it too large a task to be treated except by special commission or tribunal. The necessity for the prompt settlement of this controversy was apparent to all because it was in this disputed region that a large part of the Klondike gold fields or routes to those gold fields lay. There was constant friction between Americans and Canadians over the boundary, and with the increasing rush to the gold fields and the various claims of citizens of the United States and subjects of Great Britain to mining land, the chances of armed conflict became perilously near.

Necessity for settlement

The source of the dispute lay in the obscure and ambiguous language of the treaty of 1825 between Russia and Great Britain. This treaty had been interpreted over and over again in various ways, and neither country had shown very great anxiety in pressing the matter to a conclusion until the gold discovery. The main aim of the Canadians was to

The rival contentions

Canada wants an outlet

secure an outlet on their own territory to the sea, particularly through the so-called Lynn Canal. It was their especial contention that the line ran along the mountain range, and that the heads of all the inlets were in British territory, while the American claim was that the mountain range should be disregarded and that the line should be drawn about ten miles from the coast, following the indentations. The main question came in the interpretation of the Treaty of 1825, which, of course, became binding upon the United States and Great Britain in 1867, when the United States purchased Alaska from Russia. It will be impossible for us in this sketch to go into the details regarding that treaty and the various points under it. These are most technical and incapable of explanation without great space. It will be our province rather to trace the progress of negotiation, which finally culminated in a verdict.

Treaty provides for settlement

There had been a movement on the part of Lord Salisbury to secure an agreement regarding Alaska, when he gave way to the United States on the Isthmian Canal Treaty, but for some reason this matter was dropped, and the United States was free from any embarrassment. Finally, on January 24, 1903, a treaty between Great Britain and the United States, providing for the settlement of this question, was signed in Washington by Secretary John Hay, for the United States, and Sir Michael Herbert, British Ambassador. This treaty, which passed the Senate in a few weeks, and whose ratifications were exchanged on March 3d, provided that an international tribunal should be constituted, and its decision should be final. The treaty contained this significant and specific declaration:

MAP SHOWING THE BOUNDARY LINE OF ALASKA

The tribunal

"The tribunal shall consist of six impartial jurists of repute, who shall consider, judicially, the questions submitted to them, each of whom shall first subscribe an oath that he will impartially consider the arguments and evidence presented to the tribunal, and will decide thereupon according to his true judgment."

It is this paragraph that was so frequently quoted with bitter tone by the Canadian press before the session of the tribunal, and especially after the decision. It seemed very like mockery to them when on February 13th, as soon as the treaty had passed the American Senate, it was announced at Washington that the three American members of the tribunal were to be Elihu Root, Secretary of War, Senator H. C. Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Senator George Turner, of Washington. These appointments were at once denounced by the Canadian press and public as violation of the treaty. By no stretch of imagination could these gentlemen be called "impartial jurists of repute." Possibly to Secretary Root little objection could be made, for while he had never been a judge, he was one of the leading lawyers in the United States and a man of judicial temperament and great learning. His position as Secretary of War rendered him, however, necessarily biased, but it was explained that he would resign his position in the Cabinet before taking part in the tribunal. Senator Lodge could not be called an "impartial jurist of repute," for he had been regarded by the Canadians and by British people generally as a jingo and ready to take advantage of any occasion to twist the Lion's tail. He was, and is, indeed, a statesman and a brilliant

Americans appointed were not "impartial jurists"

political leader, but by no means a jurist. Senator Turner was about to go out of office, his term expiring on March 4th and he being defeated for re-election. He had no reputation, however, as an impartial jurist, although he had been on the State Supreme Bench for a short time. But he was particularly offensive to Canadians because he represented the State most directly interested in the Americanization of the Yukon. These objections to the American members of the tribunal seem to me to be well founded. Their appointment has been excused only on one ground that is at all tenable, namely, their support was necessary to the passage of the treaty through the Senate. This is a very low reflection on American affairs and the integrity of the President's appointments, but those who understand American affairs may readily see how difficult it would have been to secure the right sort of men for this disagreeable assignment. Moreover, President Roosevelt, who, we feel sure, had been behind the whole movement for a speedy settlement of the dispute, was determined to press it with the weapons and the tools he had at hand.

Why they were chosen

Now, who were to be the British Commissioners? Should they be all Canadians or all British? It early became rumored that Lord Alverstone, the Chief Justice of England, would be one of the Judges, and it finally was announced that the other two would be Canadians. Subsequently, the two Canadians appointed were Sir Louis A. Jetté, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, and formerly a Judge of the Province; and John Douglas Armour, Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada. Justice Armour suddenly died in England, and Mr. A. B.

The British Commissioners

Aylesworth, K.C., was appointed in his place. It can not be said that the Canadians had been false to the terms of the treaty. The men that they selected, were, perhaps, not as able as the three American Commissioners, but they were much more nearly "impartial jurists of repute."

Mr. Blake unable to serve as senior counsel

The American counsel were Jacob M. Dickinson, David T. Watson, Hannis Taylor, and C. P. Anderson; while Hon. J. W. Foster, formerly Secretary of State, was appointed the American agent. Hon. Edward Blake, member of the Imperial Parliament, and formerly Liberal leader in Canada, was appointed senior counsel in the case. But this position he resigned on July 5th, and Sir Edward H. Carson took his place. It had been reported that this resignation of Mr. Blake was brought about by his belief, after examining the papers, that he was in charge of a losing case. This was unjust to Mr. Blake and injured the cause. As a matter of fact, he had overworked, and was peremptorily ordered by his physicians to withdraw from the case. But his withdrawal made more emphatic the gloomy apprehension in Canada that the Americans were bound to win. The work, however, went bravely on with Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, as the British Agent. The chief Canadian counsel was Christopher Robinson. Associated with Mr. Carson, who, though not a Canadian, was Solicitor-General of Great Britain, were these Canadians: F. C. Wade, K.C., Aimé Geoffrion and L. P. Duff, K.C. The British Counsel were R. B. Finlay, K.C., Attorney-General; Messrs. S. A. T. Rowlatt, and J. A. Simon.

Apprehension in Canada

The first meeting of the Alaska Boundary Tri-

bunal took place in the foreign office in London on September 3d. Lord Alverstone was elected Chairman. After this preliminary meeting the tribunal adjourned to the 15th, during which time the members studied the cases submitted by both sides and made public. Arguments followed on September 15th, and on October 3d the arguments closed. From that time until October 20th rumors were rife regarding the probable decision. Some of these were very unpleasant and included a disagreeable and highly undiplomatic interview with Mr. Aylesworth, which has never been confirmed or denied. Finally, on October 20th the decision was made known. It was practically a verdict for the American contentions. The line which that decision fixed very nearly coincided with the American claim. The Canadians lost the heads of all the inlets, and had practically no outlet to the ocean. Simultaneously with the announcement of the decision came the statement that Messrs. Aylesworth and Jetté refused to sign the decision, alleging that it was a base sacrifice of Canadian territory and "nothing less than a gross travesty of justice." The decision was consequently that of the three Americans and Lord Alverstone.

Alverstone elected chairman

Americans win the decision

It would be difficult to exaggerate the resentment and anger felt in Canada over this result. It fulfilled and justified all the gloomy apprehension with which the Canadians had regarded the outcome of the tribunal. The newspapers burst into a frenzy of denunciation. Public speakers were equally violent in their attitude. The anti-English sentiment in Vancouver was so pronounced that a theatre crowd howled down the strains of the national

The country angry over the result

anthem. It was generally felt by the Canadians that this was another surrender by Great Britain of Canadian rights to American greed. What made the situation worse was that no abstract or report of Lord Alverstone's decision was transmitted to Canada for several weeks, and in the mean time it was generally felt that he had surrendered Canada's case. When the abstract did reach Canada it was found to be clear and judicial. Yet, in vain did students and experts declare that they had felt before the tribunal met that Canada had, in very many respects, a weak case. It was pointed out that some of the Canadian surveys gave the line as the Americans claimed it, that Americans had by long occupation got a hold upon and a right of possession to various ports and sections, and that against this occupancy there had been no British protest whatever. Finally, one distinguished citizen reminded the Canadians that if they had been allowed to select one man as sole arbitrator they would have been glad to accept Lord Alverstone. Lord Alverstone was really the one arbitrator and judge. Had he decided against the Americans, the case would have been deadlocked for years. In time Canadians came to a more sober and reasonable attitude on the subject. They came to see that Lord Alverstone could not have been prejudiced and that his decision was really the only one that was fair and unbiased. Some came also to see that the American case was much the stronger, and that in this light the decision was a just one. But they were not and are not ready to believe that the whole scheme was anything but one contrived at Washington to get the contest settled to the advantage of the Americans.

Lord Alverstone the target

A sober second thought

No Englishman ever to hold the balance again

And so much resentment still remains, not at the decision, but at the way it was reached, that it will be impossible ever again for Canada to agree to allowing an Englishman to cast the deciding vote in any tribunal regarding important Canadian rights.

Aylesworth fails to explode

When Mr. Aylesworth came home he was breathing defiance and all sorts of fire. But when he was given a great dinner by the Canadian Club at Toronto, in which it was feared an outburst against the Crown would result, he surprised all by his moderation, and by his peroration, in which he earnestly asserted his complete loyalty to the British sovereign and authority.[1] That saw the collapse of anything of the dynamite sort in the aftermath of the affair. True, it gave an impetus to the movement for independence within or without the Crown, but it encouraged no thought of immediate withdrawal from British authority.

[1] Mr. Aylesworth is now Minister of Justice in the Laurier Cabinet.

CHAPTER LXI

THE NEW TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY

General election takes place

THE year 1904 in Canada is noteworthy for several circumstances and events, the most important of which, of course, was the general election, which took place in November. But previous to that, and to some degree incidental to it, were several issues and affairs intimately connected with the campaign and with present-day Canada. In sketching out these latter days of this history, it has been my purpose not to give the reader overmuch of contemporary events and affairs, for the reason that one's judgment as to the value of these events is likely to be warped. Consequently, only the most important affairs have been noted. Certainly, one of these was the change in the conditions under which the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was to be built. The management of that company proposed several changes, among which were these: The extension of the limit on bonds to be guaranteed by the Government to three-fourths of the cost of the mountain section; the provision of a remedy in case of a default in the payment of interest on the bonds; the extension of time for the completing of the Western Division to December 1, 1911; the addition of certain specified conditions in which the $5,000,000 deposit could be returned to the company, the giv-

Grand Trunk Pacific Company asks better terms

ing to the Grand Trunk Railway control over the $25,000,000 of common stock to be taken in the Grand Trunk Pacific Company, and the grant to this company of the running rights for another fifty years over the Eastern Division, if the Government, at the end of the present fifty years' lease should assume control of that part of the line. The announcement of these modifications was made on February 29th and was greeted at once by the Conservative Party, and by the other influences in Canada opposed to the project, with cries of derision, one paper going so far as to declare that the whole thing had burst like a bubble. What lent especial force to this criticism was the fact that up to the time the rumor of the change was made, the Grand Trunk Pacific Company had not yet deposited the $5,000,000 check, nor did it do so until March 9th, ten days after the announcement of these proposed modifications. Undoubtedly, the company was in some difficulty. All stockholders felt that the Government had driven too hard a bargain, in spite of the fact that Sir Wilfrid Laurier's opponents in Canada were almost unanimous in declaring that he had surrendered to the new company immense grants and great power for nothing. At any rate, it required considerable urging at the meeting of the company with the shareholders in London on March 8th to decide to carry on the project, and it was not until that meeting had been held and the authorization to go ahead had been secured, that the $5,000,000 could be deposited, nor could the shareholders at that time be assured by Sir C. Rivers-Wilson, the President, or C. M. Hayes, the General Manager (whom Mr. Harriman had driven out of

Conservatives deride the project

London meeting critical

the United States), that the Canadian Government would accept the modifications proposed.

Laurier arranges compromise

On April 5th Sir Wilfrid Laurier made a statement as to the action of the Government on this matter. It was in no sense a complete acceptance of the various requests. The request that the limit for the completion of the Western Division be five years had been scaled down to three. As to the forfeiture of the $5,000,000 deposit, the provision was made that if, when the company had completed the Western Section, the Government had not yet got done the Eastern Section, the deposit could be released with an adequate provision for the completion of the Eastern Section. The Government was asked to guarantee seventy-five per cent of the whole cost of construction without any restriction as to liability, and, although this was not agreed to, terms were made much easier than they had ever been before.

A difficult subject

This settlement, while giving the Grand Trunk better terms, was hardly a complete surrender on the Government's part, yet it was so described by Mr. Borden of the Opposition. It was a very difficult subject for Sir Wilfrid Laurier to handle, and it was first thought likely to damage the chances of his party in the coming general election; but the discussion and debate became somewhat technical, and Mr. Borden was unable to show a really significant backdown on the part of the Government. His motion, declaring the Opposition's policy on this question, was voted down on April 20th, 61 to 116. The whole subject revived the discussion in Canada as to government ownership, and was in some sense an aid to that doctrine.

LORD DUNDONALD'S EXIT

A distinguished British officer

ONE of the most sensational incidents of the year, and one that had much to do with Canada's relations to Great Britain, was in connection with Lord Dundonald, the general officer commanding the Canadian militia. Lord Dundonald, the twelfth Earl of Dundonald, was a major-general in the British army when he came out to Canada in 1903. He had won distinction in Stewart's desert march for the relief of Khartoum, and took a very prominent part in the South African war, entering Ladysmith in advance of the Natal army, and winning distinction in the many battles in the East Transvaal. When he got to Canada he threw himself very heartily into the work of reorganizing the militia and bringing it up to date. He did not appear to have any special desire to hide his light under a bushel, and in some ways seemed to have got the idea that in his position he was superior to the Minister of Militia in the Canadian Cabinet. There were rumors of friction between himself and his superiors on several occasions, but nothing came out publicly until on the night of June 4th, when the noble Earl made an address at a military banquet in Montreal. In this speech he plainly and without equivocation declared that he had nominated a list of officers for the Thirteenth Light Dragoons, and had received the list back with the name of one officer scratched out by the Minister of Agriculture, Hon. Sidney Fisher. It was alleged that this man, Dr. Pickel, Mayor of Sweetsburg, had been scratched out because he was a Conservative in politics and not agreeable to Mr. Fisher, who rep-

Declares politics mars his work

resented that constituency in Parliament. This speech, while it was suppressed by some newspapers, finally got into circulation, and resulted in the usual course. The Minister of Militia asked Lord Dundonald if his speech had been correctly reported, and he replied affirming the correctness of the report. There was an enormous amount of discussion, and fiery speeches were made on both sides of the House. The Government's explanation of Mr. Fisher's action was that he was at that time acting Minister of Militia, because of the absence of the Minister and of the Deputy Minister from Ottawa. He knew that Dr. Pickel was one of the strongest Conservative workers in the neighborhood, and he did not believe that it was proper that such a man should have a military command. He had suggested other men who were just as loyal to their party, but not so active politically as Dr. Pickel.

Reply to Dundonald's charges

It was during this debate that Sir Wilfrid Laurier made the famous *lapsus linguæ*. He said: "Lord Dundonald, in his position, is charged with the organization of the militia, but he must take counsel here in organizing a regiment. He is a foreigner—no—"

Sir Wilfrid's famous *lapsus linguæ*

At that moment he was interrupted by a number of speakers, who said, "No, no." Then Laurier continued: "I had withdrawn the expression before the honorable gentlemen had interrupted me. He is not a foreigner, but a stranger." The explanation of this peculiar blunder by Laurier is easy to those who know French, and it shows, too, that in spite of Sir Wilfrid's long familiarity with the English language and with English-speaking peoples,

he still thinks in French; he was thinking the word *"étranger,"* which in French means either "stranger" or "foreigner," and he gave it the wrong English word, although undoubtedly having the right thought in his mind. This little slip gave the Tories opportunity to shout that the Premier of Canada had declared that this prominent Englishman was a foreigner in Canada, which, of course, was absurd.

Privy Council dismisses Dundonald

The debate was carried on several days, but no action was taken by the Parliament. It was purely in the hands of the Privy Council, and their action was the dismissal, on June 14th, of Lord Dundonald as general officer commanding, the action and the reasons being as stated in the official explanation "for an officer to make a public attack upon the Ministers of the Government under which he served, is a proceeding so totally at variance with the principles which must necessarily obtain in the administration of military, as well as civil, affairs, that it can not be with propriety overlooked. It is impossible to do otherwise than to characterize the speech of Lord Dundonald as a grave act of indiscretion and insubordination." The report of this dismissal was received throughout Canada in the usual partizan way. That is, the Liberals approved it and the Conservatives denounced it. So far as the mere spectacular side of the affair was concerned, Lord Dundonald came out with flying colors, for he was banqueted and fêted in various cities. At Toronto, on July 15th, he was welcomed in a hall by 5,000 enthusiastic people, and his reception on the streets was as warm. He received also a great farewell demonstration at Ottawa on the evening of

Dundonald given fine demonstrations

England condemns Dundonald

July 26th, and at Montreal he was banqueted and received enthusiastic praise from both French and English, he addressing them in both languages. In England his false step was generally condemned. The incident is now closed in Canada, but its lesson is very plain: Canada will not submit to be dictated to by an officer sent out from England.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1904

Early dissolution urged

In the year 1904 was the last general election in Canada to be considered in this history. For over a year there had been rumors of the approach of the general election, and some of Laurier's party workers had strongly urged it at the close of 1903, but the Premier considered it unwise to anticipate so much the constitutional limit, and having adopted the rule of an election every four years, he concluded that it would be best to hold to it. These elections since 1896 have occurred on the same year as the Presidential elections in the United States, although the term in the United States is fixed at four years, while in Canada it may be five. The first intimation of the coming general election was given by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Sorel, Quebec, on September 28th, when he addressed the great audience of 5,000 French Canadians in that little town. In his speech on this occasion he plainly intimated that a dissolution of Parliament and an appeal to the country were near at hand, and the campaign can be said to have begun at that time. From that day until the election day, November 3d, the Dominion was the scene of a very interesting political struggle, one of the most bitterly fought in the whole history of Canada. The general issues

were, of course, made by the Conservative Party, as they were on the outside trying to get in. There were the usual allegations of extravagance, of truckling to the Grand Trunk Railway, and incurring public debts which would be likely to bankrupt the country; that the present prosperity of the country was due not to the policy of the Liberals, but to the protective tariff policy of the Conservatives, which the Liberals in power had not much altered. The preferential tariff and the Dundonald case and scandals in the Yukon region, alien labor laws, and personal matters were among the other issues made by the Conservatives. The Liberals, of course, were able to point to the great and general development of the country and the extraordinary prosperity that prevailed, the generally harmonious relations of Canada with other countries, the excellent administration of the Northwest Territories by which they had so grown as to make the creation of Provinces out of Territories absolutely certain in the near future; the success of the preferential tariff, the extraordinary progress of trade, the growth in postal receipts, and the vast amount of public works carried on.

Conservatives attack the Government

It may be said at this distance in time and place from that contest that the only serious charge made against the Government, and the only one that was feared by it, had to do with the Grand Trunk Pacific. There was no doubt in the public mind, and there is no doubt to-day, that the present contract or arrangement for building this road is a makeshift, neither logical nor economical. Whether it was the best that could be done or not is a question. The Conservatives vehemently declared to

The Grand Trunk Pacific arrangement defective

Conservatives favor Government ownership

the contrary, and they took the absurd tack of proposing as an alternative for this illogical and confused program practically Government construction and ownership, leaving out of the question the only possible way by which in the United States any such enterprise would be handled; that is, by private initiative and from private funds. The Conservatives hinted at corruption in the contract, and in this they were assisted on the surface by a number of very peculiar circumstances, none of which has constituted any real proof of guilt. And as a matter of fact, the Canadian electors in general could not be persuaded that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in a matter which came under his own personal supervision, and who took it so much into his own hands as to cause the retirement through pique of the member of the Cabinet who would usually deal with such a project, had done anything corrupt or permitted anything corrupt to be carried on in these negotiations. The Hon. A. G. Blair, who had been Minister of Railways and resigned, as previously noted, because of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's taking the Grand Trunk Pacific matter into his own hands, had soon afterward been made chairman of the new Railway Commission of the Dominion with a salary of $10,000 a year. He was not content in that position, but took the questionable attitude of constituting himself as a critic of the Administration. There were rumors that he would resign from the commission and come out openly for the Conservatives, but this action did not take place as soon as was expected. There were a number of banquets and meetings at which Blair was present, and he announced that he would resign his seat at the end

The attitude of Mr. Blair

of that year, but he did not openly go into the arena or espouse the Conservative side. There is, however, no doubt that he permitted his attitude to be understood as not favoring the Administration, and the Conservatives relied very largely upon his influence in carrying New Brunswick. Both Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Borden made tours throughout the western part of the Dominion. Mr. Borden, in fact, went as far west as Winnipeg. Indeed, he left his own Province to take care of itself and exerted his strength in other sections.

Does not favor the Administration

As the time for election drew near, it was generally felt that the Government would be sustained, but there was no lack of Conservative leaders and organs who believed in the triumph of their party. The Liberal organizer, Mr. Alexander Smith, predicted a total majority of 56 votes in the House, while the Toronto "Mail and Empire" figured on a Conservative majority of 25. The final result showed even greater victory for the Government than seemed possible. Quebec went Liberal by 54 to 11; Ontario remaining Conservative by 48 to 38. Nova Scotia showed a clean sweep of 18 seats for the Liberals. New Brunswick stood 7 Liberals and 6 Conservatives, and Prince Edward Island, 3 Conservatives and 1 Liberal; Manitoba, 7 Liberals and 3 Conservatives; the Territories, 7 Liberals and 4 Conservatives; British Columbia, 7 Liberals, a total majority for the Liberals of 64 votes, as the House stood on January 1, 1905. The most salient and even sensational feature of the election was the triumph which Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, won for his party in Nova Scotia. Both Mr. Fielding and Mr. Borden, the Opposition

Another pronounced Laurier victory

leader, represented constituencies in Nova Scotia, and the popularity of Mr. Borden was thought to be sufficient, together with the resentment on account of the new Grand Trunk Pacific Railway's terms, to make the issue between those two leaders a very close one. The result, however, was an overwhelming victory for Mr. Fielding. It was the first time in the history of the Dominion that any of the large Provinces had gone solid for any party. The value of this verdict for Mr. Fielding lay peculiarly in the fact that he was being groomed for the Premiership when Sir Wilfrid Laurier should retire. His overwhelming success in this contest, therefore, meant very much to him, and made the claims of his friends that he should have the Premiership well-nigh irresistible. The defeat of Mr. Borden in Halifax was not expected, and much sympathy was felt for him, not only because of his general popularity, but because of his absence from the field through campaigning in other parts of the Dominion, as we have just noted above. The largest majority won by any one man was by Mr. Frank Oliver, afterward the Minister of the interior, whose majority was over 2,000. Generally, however, throughout the Dominion, the majorities were large, showing pronounced sentiment in practically every district. The Liberals had some hopes of carrying Ontario, and they feared they might lose more than twelve seats in Quebec, but the result showed that the Dutch had taken Holland as usual, that the old Conservative district of Ontario remained the same and Quebec was true to her national and racial leader. The popular majority of the Liberals over the Conservatives was, however,

Fielding's success in Nova Scotia

Mr. Borden, Opposition leader, defeated

not large—a trifle over 50,000 votes, which clearly indicated that, after all, it was not so overwhelming a triumph as one might think from the Parliamentary returns. Popular majority not large

It is interesting, at this point, to show the changes in the political complexion of the various Provinces since Confederation began. Following is the table:

	Maritime Provinces		Ontario		Quebec		The West	
	C.	L.	C.	L.	C.	L.	C.	L.
1867	10	24	47	36	47	36		
1872	18	19	38	50	38	27	9	1
1874	9	34	24	64	32	33	8	2
1878	26	17	63	25	48	17	9	1
1882	29	14	54	38	38	17	8	3
1887	24	19	54	38	36	29	14	1
1891	31	11	48	44	30	35	14	1
1896	22	17	45	47	16	49	7	8
1900	12	27	55	37	7	58	6	11
1904	9	26	48	38	11	54	10	22

Another political campaign, at this time, of far-reaching importance and general interest was the Provincial election in Ontario, where the Liberals had been in absolute control of affairs for over thirty years. There were many charges of corruption in elections, and some of the investigations before the Special Commissioners showed rank incidents of ballot manipulation that would have done credit to some American politicians in the worst precincts. Yet so long had Mr. Ross been in control, although he had been nominal leader only three years, that it was hardly believed that he could be defeated. The contest on January 25, 1905, resulted in a great Conservative victory, the majority being over forty. Ontario goes Conservative in Provincial election, 1905

The new Conservative Provincial Ministry, headed by the Hon. J. P. Whitney, came into power on February 8, 1905, and once more Ontario became, both in Provincial and Dominion affairs, Conservative.

The new viceroy, Earl Grey

The year 1904 closed the term of office of the Earl of Minto as Governor-General. His term had been extended, and he was generally popular with Canadians. Before his departure in the fall, he with Lady Minto made a tour of all Canada, being received with especial enthusiasm in the West. The successor to Lord Minto is Earl Grey. He is a grandson of the great Liberal Premier, the second Earl Grey, and a nephew of the third Earl, and is also a brother-in-law of Lord Minto, and had been somewhat familiar with Canada through several visits. He was especially noted in England as the founder of the temperance movement known as the Public-House Trust, and had shown his interest in sociological movements and projects for the betterment of living conditions in various other ways. As Administrator he had been in South Africa with the Chartered Company in 1896-97, and was a friend of Cecil Rhodes. He was given enthusiastic good-byes in England, and particularly at a banquet on November 21st, at which were present Lord Strathcona, Canadian High Commissioner in England; the Archbishop of Canterbury; Lord Aberdeen, former Governor-General; and Mr. St. John Brodrick, Member of Parliament and Secretary of State for War. He arrived at Halifax on December 10th and received an enthusiastic welcome. It can be said that all the warm expressions of his fitness for his new office have been realized. He has

Enthusiastic good-byes

been, in fact, much more than a figurehead, and has personally, and not simply through his office, exerted real influence on Canada's affairs, particularly those relating to the mother country.

The Canadian Railway Commission

In February, 1904, the Canadian Railway Commission was organized with Hon. A. G. Blair, former Minister of Railways, as its chairman. This commission has powers similar to those of the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States. Mr. Blair devoted himself to it for a year and then resigned. His death occurred in January, 1907.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in America

One of the most important visitors to Canada in this year, 1904, was Dr. Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England. The Archbishop had come to the New World for the purpose of attending the general convention of the Episcopal Church in Boston. This was the first visit that the Archbishop of Canterbury had ever made to the United States or to Canada. His visit to Quebec was especially noteworthy, as it took place on the occasion of the celebration of the centennial of the English Cathedral there. He also visited Montreal and Toronto. Altogether he was in Canada over a week, and sailed for England on October 14th, having been in North America since August 28th. Other great British visitors to Canada that year were the Right Hon. James Bryce, now British Ambassador to the United States, and the Right Hon. John Morley, now Viscount Morley, Gladstone's biographer and now (1908) Secretary of State for India. Two *bon mots* are connected with the latter. It is said of him that he can not rise to the position of Prime Minister in England because he has no vices! To him is ascribed the re-

mark that "President Roosevelt is a combination of St. George and St. Vitus."

THE SEPARATE-SCHOOL CONTEST OF 1905

Movement for new Provinces in the West

THAT the old religious and race conflict in Canada has by no means died out was conclusively proved by the contest over separate schools in the new Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, organized in 1905. These two Provinces had been a part of the Northwest Territories, divided into four political divisions—Saskatchewan, Alberta, Assiniboia, and Athabasca—which had been ruled from Ottawa as Territories having a Territorial Legislature, with the capital at Regina. For a number of years, especially ever since the beginning of the boom in the wheat lands of the Northwest, there had been frequent petitions to Sir Wilfrid Laurier to admit these Territories as Provinces, but the Premier could not be persuaded of the advisability of this step. He thought it was not necessary, nor did he believe that as Provinces they would secure any rights of especial value to themselves as compared with their status at the time. Mr. Haultain, the Premier of the Northwest Territories, had made several trips to Ottawa, and a large correspondence had ensued dealing with this subject.

No mention of the school question at first

It is singular that in all these negotiations almost no mention whatever was made of the educational question. It had not figured in the general elections in 1904, and was not mentioned in the Provincial elections of that year, yet only a few months after the Dominion election, when the Premier was apparently about to redeem a pledge he had made to the people of the Northwest Territories, this ques-

HIS EXCELLENCY, EARL GREY

Governor-General of Canada

tion became the uppermost issue in those Territories. On January 4th, Mr. G. H. V. Bulyea, Commissioner of Public Works of the Northwest Territories, had declared in an interview, when speaking of the prospects of the new Provinces: "We have no school question on our hands and do not expect any." On January 12th the Government, on meeting Parliament, promised a bill for conferring autonomy on the Territories, and no mention was made in that speech of the educational question. A number of conferences were held on that subject between the Western delegates and members of the Cabinet, and yet the educational question was not mentioned.

"No school question"

But about the 1st of February rumors began of meetings of Catholic authorities, with a subsequent demand for a clear, definite statement on the separate-school question. It is quite conceivable that there would not have been any agitation on this subject whatever had it not been for this Catholic demand. The separate school was established in the Northwest Territories anyhow. There was a small Catholic population and very few separate schools. These separate schools had been legalized and authorized by the Northwest Territories Act of 1875, which provided that "Wherever a minority of the ratepayers wish to establish a separate school, they may do so and shall be liable to the payment of rates merely for the months of those schools." It was a simple provision, and against it there had been no opposition. This system was not only granted in the acts of 1875, but also in the Northwest Territories ordinances of 1901. That the question was not a burning issue in the Territories may be readily seen from the fact that there

First appearance of the question

Not a burning issue

Small percentage of Roman Catholics

was a smaller percentage of Roman Catholics in the Territories in 1901 than in any Province except Manitoba and Ontario. The percentage of Roman Catholics in the Northwest Territories was 20; in Ontario, 18; and in Manitoba, 14, while in Canada as a whole it was 41. Why there should have been any particular opposition to the bodily transference of these ordinances into the constitutions of the new Provinces it is difficult at this distance to say. It seems to have been a question which, if let alone, would have settled itself to the satisfaction of all concerned. But once stirred up, it became the subject and object of great strife.

Laurier argues for the separate school

There was no trying to keep it quiet, however, when once it had been stirred up. And so, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier came to deliver his speech, introducing the Autonomy Bill on February 21, he made a very frank statement on the educational clause. His argument in detail was largely on the same lines as have just been stated, namely, that the new Provinces were to have a system such as had obtained in the Territories, that this system had been acceptable to George Brown, the great anti-Catholic leader of the Liberals, and to Sir John A. Macdonald, the great Conservative Premier, and that against the system there had never been opposition. He declared that his proposed enactment was in accordance with the laws and Constitution, and included the definite proposition "That the minority shall have the power to establish their own schools, and that they shall have the right to share in the public moneys." He then proceeded to a defense of the separate schools, which may not have been necessary, and certainly contributed to popular

excitement on the subject. This section of his address was a fervent tribute to religious education. He compared the system of education in the United States and in Canada, and said: "When I observe the social conditions in this country of ours, a total absence of lynching and almost total absence of divorces and murders, for my part I thank Heaven that we are living in a country where the young children of the land are taught Christian morals and Christian dogmas. If the American system is right, the Canadian system is wrong."

Contrasts Canadian and American civilization

What complicated the situation at this point was the absence of Mr. Sifton, Minister of the Interior, who hailed from Manitoba. It is quite significant of Sir Wilfrid Laurier that he is the master in his Cabinet. When the Pacific Railway proposition was under way, as will be remembered, he handled the negotiations himself, practically ignoring Mr. Blair, his Minister of Railways, and this led to Mr. Blair's resignation from the Cabinet. When the school question was being discussed, he took advantage of the absence of Mr. Sifton, who was in the South for his health, to conduct those negotiations for the Northwest matters. This was manifestly discourteous to Mr. Sifton, because he was supposed to be the Government's authority an all subjects in the West. There is a possibility that the Premier did not purposely ignore Mr. Sifton, and that he dealt with the subject because Mr. Sifton was not there to do so, but it has always been asserted by Mr. Sifton's friends, and it is reasonable to suppose that the argument is a good one, that if the Premier had desired Mr. Sifton's assistance he could easily have secured his presence with a message.

Sifton's significant absence

Laurier handles the question without him

Sifton returns and resigns

This he did not do, and when Mr. Sifton arrived in Ottawa it was after the bill had been introduced and the stand of the Government had been taken. The opposition of Mr. Sifton to these provisions of the Autonomy bill, as it was called, was known publicly, and there were reports that Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, was also dissatisfied, and might retire from the Cabinet. There is no doubt that there was a pronounced division in the Ministry at that time, but Sir Wilfrid was able to bring over to his side all of the members except Mr. Sifton, and Mr. Sifton might have remained if he had known of the concessions which subsequently the Premier was constrained to make. As it was, Mr. Sifton promptly resigned on February 27th, a few days after his return. In his place was chosen Mr. Frank Oliver, Member of Parliament for Edmonton, who was an even more distinctly Western member than Mr. Sifton himself.

An avalanche of protests

The Premier's speech and Mr. Sifton's resignation, and the dissatisfaction which these revealed, caused a perfect storm of protest to rise throughout the Dominion. Petitions by the hundred poured into the House of Commons from the beginning of March until May. These were almost all protests against the Government's policy, although some from Quebec were insistent that the bill be passed without amendment. The greatest storm on this subject came from Ontario and particularly the city of Toronto. There the "News," an independent paper, whose editor, Mr. Willison, had written an excellent biography of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and is a Liberal in politics, became very bitter on the subject. What was more significant and threaten-

ing than this, however, was the attitude of the Toronto "Globe," which had been from time immemorial the organ of the Liberal Party. This newspaper did not at once take up the question, but soon made plain its opposition to the proposed law. It was not vehement and abusive at all, but strong and emphatic. The Orange lodges throughout the Dominion were proverbially emphatic in their condemnation. Mr. Haultain, the Premier of the Northwest Territories, took a pronounced stand. He declared that the Parliament had no right to consider the question at all; that the educational clause was settled when the Provinces were admitted as Territories, and that the rights that were acquired at that time could not be taken away simply by a change of Government. His letter took as strong a stand on other clauses of the proposed act, and was in tone so defiant as to signify his intention to resist the operation of the new act. In other words, he did not want the Northwest Territories to be a Province or Provinces under the conditions imposed.

The Toronto "Globe" against Laurier

Premier Haultain's stand

Meantime, there were many rumors going about with reference to the influences which worked on the Cabinet. It was commonly said that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was too much dominated by Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Minister of Justice, who is a Roman Catholic, and that he no longer considered sufficiently the warning voice of the Minister of Finance, Mr. Fielding. At any rate, the situation became so muddled and menacing that, by the middle of March, it was plain that, unless the Government made a compromise that would be satisfactory to the Western members, the fate of the measure was

Dissensions in the Cabinet

A possible split

in great doubt. Perhaps it would be possible for Sir Wilfrid to pass it, but it would mean a split in his party, which even he could not wholly patch up.

THE COMPROMISE

So when, on March 15th, he intimated that the Government was contemplating some form of amendment to the bill, the Liberal Party throughout the Dominion was greatly relieved. Five days later, on March 20th, the proposed compromise clause was made public, and in order that one may see the difference, the two clauses are placed here together:

ORIGINAL CLAUSE 16 OF THE AUTONOMY BILL

Text of the original clause

"1. The provisions of Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, shall apply to the said Province as if, at the date upon which this Act comes into force, the territory comprised therein were already a Province, the expression 'the Union' in the said section being taken to mean the said date.

"2. Subject to the provisions of the said Section 93 and in continuance of the principle heretofore sanctioned under the North-West Territories Act, it is enacted that the Legislature of the said Province shall pass all necessary laws in respect of education and that it shall therein always be provided (a) that a majority of the ratepayers of any district or portion of the said Province or of any less portion or subdivision thereof, by whatever name it is known, may establish such school therein as they think fit, and make the necessary assessments and collection of rates therefor, and (b) that the minority of the ratepayers therein, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish Separate Schools therein, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor, and (c) that in such case the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic Schools shall be liable only to assessment of such rates as they impose upon themselves with respect thereto.

"3. In the appropriation of public moneys by the Legislature in aid of education and in the distribution of any moneys paid to the Government of the said Province arising from the school fund established by 'The Dominion Lands Act' there shall be no discrimination between the Public Schools and Separate Schools, and such moneys shall be applied to the support of the Public and Separate Schools in equitable shares or proportion."

SUBSTITUTE FOR CLAUSE 16 AS EVENTUALLY PASSED

"Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, shall apply to the said Province, with the substitution for paragraph 1 of the said Section 93 of the following paragraph. Text of the substitute

"(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Separate Schools which any class of persons have at the date of the passing of this Act, under the terms of Chapters 29 and 30 of the Ordinances of the North-West Territories passed in the year 1901 or with respect to religious instruction in any Public or Separate School as provided for in the said Ordinances.

"(2) In the appropriation by the Legislature or distribution by the Government of the Province of any moneys for the support of schools organized and carried on in accordance with the said Chapter 29 or any Act passed in amendment thereof, or in substitution therefor, there shall be no discrimination against schools of any class described in the said Chapter 29.

"(3) Where the expression 'by law' is employed in paragraph 3 of the said Section 93, it shall be held to mean the law as set out in the said Chapters 29 and 30, and where the expression 'at the Union' is employed in the said paragraph 3, it shall be held to mean the date at which this Act comes into force."

As amended, the bill provided that the separate schools must use the authorized text-books of the Province, and submit to Government control so far as teachers' qualifications were concerned. Text-books and teachers

The Catholics now aroused

Immediately the storm passed from the Protestants to the Catholics. There was a feeling in Quebec that the Government had backed down; that the Roman Catholics had lost the rights to which they believed they were entitled, and there were a number of very interesting rumors in circulation. Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Minister of Justice, it was said, was about to resign, and the Government would be face to face with another crisis. However, none of these things came to a head. It is true, there was a great deal of bad feeling among the Catholics, but this did not find a voice in the House of Commons. The only unpleasant thing from the Catholic standpoint about the whole affair was the allegation that the Papal Delegate, Monsignor Sbarretti, had exercised active influence over the separate-school clause of the bill. There was no definite proof of this allegation. It is true, probably, that the Delegate did confer with Members of Parliament on the subject, but that he actively intervened is not proved.

Harmony secured

So with the substitute's introduction, on March 20th, the agitation quieted down. Mr. Fielding, on March 22d, made a frank speech on the subject, in which he said that he for himself did not like the principle of separate schools. He pointed out, though, as has already been done here, that the separate schools were granted in 1875, and the bill of the Northwest Territories and this act, as now proposed, made no change in that status. Mr. Fitzpatrick made a speech, which was listened to with marked attention, because of the rumors of his dissatisfaction with the compromise. There was no trace of this dissatisfaction in his speech, however,

which was largely devoted to a historical review of the separate-school question in the West.

The bill passed, 140 to 59

From this time on to May 3d most of the speeches were made by the Conservatives in opposition to the bill, but it became very apparent that they could not muster all of their own party in opposition. On May 3d the vote took place, and the bill was passed by a vote of 140 to 59. There was only one Liberal, Mr. L. G. McCarthy, who voted against the Government, and there were thirteen Conservatives who supported the Government, nearly all of them from Quebec. Excluding the Catholics in the House, there was a Government majority of fourteen. Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that in the West itself there was absolutely no excitement over the school question at all. The situation was similar to that of 1871, when all Canada was much upset over the fisheries negotiations at Washington, and there were violent threats of war and bitter denunciations of England because of her surrender to the United States of the rights of the fishermen of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, while those fishermen themselves were entirely satisfied, or somewhat indifferent on the subject. The West could not see a great amount of difference between the system then existing and the one proposed. The number of Catholics was so small and the percentage was so steadily decreasing, with the influx of the new settlers, that it really made very little difference to them which way the public-revenue question was settled. This shows very clearly what we said in the beginning, that if no demand had been made by the Catholics for recognition of the separate schools, the incorporation of the provision of the Territorial Act

No excitement in the West

of 1875 into the Constitution of the new Province could have been effected without any excitement or even comment.

The two new Provinces

As to the other provisions of the law, which were vastly more important, we find that the two Provinces have a total area of about 550,345 square miles, with a total population at the present time (1908) of about 500,000 people. This estimate was made at the time the bill was passed, and seemed excessive then because the census of 1901 gave this region only about 160,000 population. But probably by this time the half-million mark has been reached. All ungranted lands in the Province were still held by the Dominion as public land, although there was a demand on the part of the Province that they be made Provincial lands. Fifty thousand dollars a year was granted to each Province for civil government; $200,000 for capitation allowance upon a present basis of 250,000 people; a debt allowance of $405,375, and a pension allowance for retaining public lands of $375,000, a total of $1,030,375. To this was added for five years an annual allowance of $62,500 for the construction of buildings and public works. The capital of Saskatchewan was fixed at Regina, and of Alberta at Edmonton. These provisions having been accepted, the new Provinces came into existence.

The brilliant inauguration exercises

These occasions were great ones for the Canadian West, and especially for the two Provinces. At the inauguration exercises in the West were present the Governor-General, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and most of the members of his Cabinet, together with a body of Canadian publicists, including Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., the author. The inaugura-

tion of the Province of Alberta took place at Edmonton on September 1, 1905, with Mr. Amedée Emmanuel Forget as Lieutenant-Governor. On September 4th, at Regina, the Province of Saskatchewan was formed, with George Hedley Vicars Bulyea as Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. A. C. Rutherford was appointed Premier of Alberta and Mr. Walter Scott Premier of Saskatchewan. The campaign for election came on at once. The contests raged around the school settlement. In Saskatchewan Mr. Rutherford's Liberal Ministry was overwhelmingly sustained on November 9th. The contest in Alberta, on December 13th, was more close, but Scott was sustained by a majority of eight members in a house of twenty-four.

The new Provincial officials

CHAPTER LXII

THE OPENING OF THE NORTHWEST

Extensive settlement

REFERENCE has been made incidentally and necessarily in previous pages of this volume to the extensive settlement of the Northwest. This is a feature of the history of Canada which can not be dealt with by the historian with the degree of fulness possible to a political or economic writer, or merely a Government reporter, for the obvious reason that the story of this settlement is incomplete. We do not know to-day how great this development of the Northwest will be. No one knows. It is the most significant and important fact in the material history of Canada in the past twenty-five years. What its political significance will be is guesswork. This development has already gone very far beyond the expectations of the pessimists, and it has also fallen very far short of the hopes of the optimists. Exactly what turned the attention of the world toward the Canadian Northwest no man can tell. It is not one of those events of history which has come about from one definite or sudden cause, like the settlement of Ontario. There was, in about 1880, an attempt to boom Manitoba and the Canadian West. This attempt was a disastrous failure, largely because of the presence of vast tracts of unoccupied land in the United States which were thought

The boom of 1880 that failed

more pleasant and agreeable in climate, and also because of a succession of crop failures in Manitoba. From that time onward, until 1898 or 1899, very few settlers went into the Canadian Northwest. On the other hand, there was a steady drift of settlers from Manitoba across the line into North Dakota. This is a very peculiar fact in the trek of humanity. The northern counties of North Dakota were first settled and organized by immigrants from Manitoba and the Northwest Territories who were dissatisfied with their prospects and conditions in Canada and thought to better them in the United States.

The drift away from Manitoba

And yet in spite of this emigration there was a slow but steady drift of immigrants to Manitoba. Winnipeg was becoming a fairly prosperous city. It had to some extent recovered from the collapse of the early eighties, and although the hard times of '93 to '97 were oppressive, it contained within itself the promise of a prosperous rural capital. But about 1899, or perhaps in the previous year, the land boomers of the United States found that their occupation was gone. They had pretty well filled up North and South Dakota and Oklahoma. It was difficult to get people to move toward the Southwest at that time, and there was no prospect of the opening of any Indian reservations by the United States Government for years to come. So syndicates were formed, composed of American and Canadian capitalists, and with the assistance of the Canadian railways and the Government, a formidable attempt was made to boom the lands of the Northwest Territories. Several land companies were organ-

Syndicates formed to boom West Canada

ized and they bought from the Canadian Government and from the railroads enormous areas of the land in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Some of this land was bought at a figure as low as $1.00 an acre, a transaction which gave rise to scandal at Ottawa, but which at the same time enabled these speculators to place this unoccupied land upon the market and within the reach of settlers. The offering of this vast territory to the settlers on easy conditions by these speculators was followed by an extensive and complete propaganda by the Government in the same cause. Immigration agents were sent to Europe. Lord Strathcona, the High Commissioner in London, was advised to use all possible means to influence immigration, and bounties were paid to private immigration agencies. This campaign was a source of scandal later, and large sums of money were spent in the immigration quest.[1]

The Government helping energetically

WHY AMERICANS GO TO CANADA

Land too high in the United States

ALL these efforts seemed to focus very well. It was a propitious time, especially for settlers from the United States. The price of the best land of the Mississippi Valley has in the last fifteen years advanced in a startling manner. Land in Iowa which was offered for sale and appraised at $37 an acre in 1890, suddenly, about 1897 or 1898, had come to be valued at $50 or $60 an acre. It was an excellent investment for the farmer himself, if he cared

[1] It is significant of changed conditions that the Dominion Government has this spring (1908) set its face resolutely in the opposite direction, and now is almost discouraging European immigration.

to sell, and it was an excellent investment for him anyhow, because the prices that he was receiving from his produce were so high as to justify this increase in the value of his land. But at the same time it was, and is, discouraging to the young man who wishes to become a land-owner for himself. He could not raise the money to buy land at $50 and $60 an acre. It had become to the young ambitious man who was reared on a farm a serious question how his future should be spent. The old ideal that he had had when a boy, of buying an adjoining quarter-section, became impossible of realization. He did not wish to continue to work for his father forever, nor could he see any other opening for his labor. Just at this moment there came to him, and to many others, the advertisements of the great land boom in Saskatchewan and Alberta. It was exactly the thing he was looking for, and he seized the opportunity greedily. It is this fact that has caused the somewhat extensive, though very much exaggerated, immigration of Americans from the Mississippi Valley to the Canadian Northwest. The Canadian Northwest could not have been settled without these men, and the most effective argument that has been used in Europe to induce people there to go to Canada is the figures of American immigration into Canada. "If the Yankees will leave their homes for Canada, it must be a very attractive land," is the form of argument. All races and peoples followed this lead. Many of them were dissatisfied and some returned home, but a vast majority have settled down into their Canadian homes and have become comfortable. It is impossible to make an accurate

Discouraging to the young

An excellent factor in the settlement

estimate as to the number of settlers involved in this movement. Some of the pessimistic judges declare that there are not more than 50,000 Americans in Western Canada, and that the total new immigration is not more than 200,000.

This is probably an underestimate as regards the total. I think it likely that the figures given for the new Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan—that is, 500,000, a growth of 340,000 since 1901—are fair and probably accurate.

THE AMAZING INCREASE IN PRODUCTION

Almost 200,000,000 bushels of grain

THIS is not the place to give in any sort of detail the extraordinary figures of production of that vast region. We are told that in 1904, 110,000,000 bushels of grain were raised, and in 1905 the figure reached 171,000,000 bushels, at a valuation of perhaps $80,000,000, while the official estimate for 1906 is 198,000,000 bushels. That of 1907 was not quite so large. Undoubtedly the development of that country has been extraordinary. The project of building the Grand Trunk Pacific is proof of that fact, but in addition to the Grand Trunk Pacific, the other roads of Canada's Northwest, which are the Canadian Northern and the Canadian Pacific Railways, have extended their lines in a most amazing manner. Their mileage is many times what it was ten years ago, and one of them, the Canadian Northern, has a line to Hudson Bay, which will give an opportunity for the test of that old dream for the transportation of grain of the Canadian West by the Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait route to Liverpool. Some of the prophets in the first days of this development have been thor-

Immense railway development

oughly confounded. Even those who went out from Winnipeg to examine this region, and then brought back discouraging or conservative stories, have had to confess that they were mistaken. On the other hand, there is no warrant for the enthusiastic belief of a large percentage of the boomers that Canada West will within ten years dominate the entire Dominion. However, it has been shown that the winters of the Northwest are by no means as severe as they had been pictured, nor are they as severe as they once were. Furthermore, regions have been discovered in Alberta partly sheltered by the mountains, in which vegetables and grains can be grown with profit which are absolutely prohibited in the country near the international boundary, 800 miles south. The increase of the business of the railroads and of the lake traffic on account of this development is incalculable. The figures are simply astounding. What has contributed more than anything else, perhaps, to the continuance of this movement is the fact that there has been no pronounced crop failure since it began. Several years there have been frost, and rust has appeared on the wheat, but there has been nothing like a repetition of the discouraging experiences of the early eighties and nineties in that region, when frost and rust and hail often combined and absolutely wiped out the farmer's crop.

The winters not so severe

POLITICALLY IT WILL REMAIN IN STATU QUO

The West truly Canadian

So far as the political future of this section is concerned, I can not see that any great change to the Dominion is involved. It may be that if this development continues for twenty years, the West will

Secession not probable

come to have a very much larger percentage of the population and a much stronger voice in the counsels of the Government than it has had, but that this settlement of the West will mean a seceding region, or a promise of independence or union with the United States, does not come within the probabilities, in my judgment. The Canadians are very like the Americans. The new Canadian West will want the lower tariff and special privileges for that section, but it is so devoted to Canada, and is so well settled down into Canadian ways, or will be by the time its strength is great enough to make its demands worth while, that it will acquiesce, even though with a protest, in whatever regulations a wise Government at Ottawa will lay down.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE QUEBEC TERCENTENARY

IN this year (1908) is to be celebrated the tercentenary of the founding of Quebec by Champlain. This celebration found its origin, officially at least, in the suggestion of Earl Grey, the Governor-General. His proposals were made public at a gathering of the Canadian Clubs in the city of Ottawa in the autumn of 1907, and were then adopted with enthusiasm. On March 3, 1908, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in announcing the proposals of the Dominion Government in this connection, explained the objects, "first, of having a celebration in the city of Quebec; and, secondly, to undertake the reclamation of the battlefields on the Plains of Abraham and at Ste. Foye." Origin of the project

The legislation introduced by the Premier, and subsequently passed by Parliament, created a "National Battlefields Commission" and voted three hundred thousand dollars as a first appropriation toward the celebration, and toward reclaiming the battlefields at Quebec, and possibly, at other places throughout the Dominion. The Premier also announced the appointment of five Commissioners on behalf of the Dominion Government: Mr. George Garneau, Mayor of Quebec; Sir George A. Drummond of Montreal; Byron E. Walker, president of The Battlefield Commission

the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Toronto; Colonel G. T. Denison, Toronto; and Hon. Adelard Turgeon, Quebec. The act provides that any Province, or the United Kingdom, or any Colony, voting $100,000 for the purpose, may be represented by a Commissioner. So far, Ontario and Quebec Provinces have voted the sum mentioned; while the City of Quebec has given $50,000. In addition, popular subscriptions are being taken, and one has been opened under the auspices, also, of the French Ambassador at London.

The Quebec program

The program of the celebration at Quebec provides for its beginning on Sunday, July 19th, and closing on Friday, July 31st. The Prince of Wales will be present from Wednesday the 22d till Wednesday the 29th. The French and American fleets will arrive and be received on the day preceding the arrival of the Prince. The first Thursday will be Champlain Day. Historical pageants, dating from Jacques Cartier to the capture of Quebec by the English, will be held on eight days; and on Champlain Day there will be a historical procession through the streets.

When introducing the National Battlefields measure in the House of Commons, the Premier made an eloquent reference to the historical significance of the occasion.

"It may be observed," he said, "that, if the object is to recall and remember the founding of the city of Quebec, the most appropriate way of doing it would be to remember the founder. . . . But Champlain has not been without honor in the city he founded. The tourist who to-day visits the city,

when he steps out of the Château Frontenac, on the broad platform which bears the same name, in order to get a view of what is perhaps one of the most beautiful panoramas in the world, has his attention claimed by a noble pile of bronze and granite which has been erected by the citizens of Quebec to the memory of Champlain. So there is not much more to be done in that direction. But the occasion seems to be proper to recall and to celebrate the baptism of fire through which the city passed in the last stages of the long struggle which was maintained between France and England for supremacy on this continent, and to dedicate and consecrate the ground which has been hallowed by the blood of so many noble men who gave their lives for the respective causes with which they were connected. It is, I believe, an undisputed fact that the battles which took place around Quebec are among the most dramatic in modern history. The perseverance of Wolfe in planting his army under the walls of Quebec; the vigilance of Montcalm to baffle a maneuvre which he knew must be fatal; the determined, undaunted resolution of Lévis to regain the city and the courage of Murray in meeting him—all these are incidents which at the time produced a deep impression upon the imagination of mankind; and that impression, instead of being effaced by time, has been deepened. It is our good fortune that we, in this House and in this country, can review these things in no other spirit than the spirit of fraternity, and that we can all worship the heroes of our respective races in the common pride that all did their duty and did it in the fullest possible measure. Our object is to consecrate that ground, to reclaim it, to

Sir Wilfrid's apt address

redeem, as far as we can, the errors of the past, and to set aside that ground as an object lesson for ourselves and our descendants."

. . . . . .

The Canadian people

With this sketch of the movement for the Tercentenary of Canada the narrative of the history of this country ends. But it would be impossible to close this work without a few words of appreciation of the Canadian people in the light of their history. I am positive that the inhabitants of the Dominion do not realize the extraordinary growth of their country, nor the vitality of their institutions and the principles of their Government. Few of them realize that Canada, as a British colony, began its existence at almost the same time as the United States began its separate entity. It was not until the Quebec Act of 1774 that Canada really had a Constitutional Government and started on its career as a distinct state and part of the British Empire. Thus we may truthfully say that the present Canada and the present United States were born at almost the same moment. But under how different auspices! Canada with a people of another stock, restless, unused to, fearful of, and practically hostile to the new Government; the United States as a homogeneous, independent nation, firm and strong and confident of the future. Canada had less than 70,000 people in 1774. The United States had over two millions. The comparisons between the two countries were all contrasts, and all these contrasts were at the expense of Canada. Since that time much of the history of Canada has been quiet, bucolic, and, to superficial minds, almost dull. Many of the controversies may

The two countries began at the same time

have seemed petty and tiresome and hardly worth the time and space allotted to their story in these volumes. But to the reader who enjoys tracing the development of a people through those strange and tortuous paths by which a nation comes into being, this story of 1774 to 1908 is vivid and rich in its significance. In mere numbers the growth of the Canadians has been astonishing. Seventy thousand they were in 1774. Six millions they are to-day. Besides the eighty millions of the people of the United States the number seems small; but, mark you, Canada's growth has been more rapid in proportion than that of the United States—in spite of all the handicaps of clashing races, derided climate and maligned soil, discord within and interference from without, and many other handicaps of which the reader knows full well. It is with this splendid record in mind that Sir Wilfrid Laurier made his famous prediction: "The Nineteenth Century was the United States', the Twentieth Century will be Canada's."

Has grown faster than the United States

But the meaning of this record is seen in many other fields than in mere growth of population and commerce. There has been a wholesomeness, a sturdiness, and an integrity in Canadian life which have been its proudest boast. This has been in large part due to the noble institutions of the country and the principles of the Government. Canada feels in these respects, at least, superior to its neighbor to the south, and to any other people of the earth.

But, ultimately, these principles and institutions depend for their preservation and defense upon the people themselves. And it is the Canadian people who hold first claim to pride in Canada's record.

The Canadians rightly proud

It is the Canadians themselves who have wrought this progress, this miracle of civilization and prosperity. He has read this record in vain who has not seen that for all the steady, sturdy, and sensible steps in advance, taken perhaps in a plodding way at times, the Canadian people are finally responsible. They are appreciative and deeply grateful for all the encouragement, direction, and help they have received from Great Britain; but it is after all the people who have settled Canada, worked in Canada, and loved it as their home that have stamped their image upon the country and made it what it is.

NELSON, WEST KOOTENAY DISTRICT, BRITISH COLUMBIA

APPENDIX A

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN CANADIAN HISTORY

1497. June 24. Cabot discovered the Eastern Coast of North America.
1498. Sebastian Cabot discovered Hudson Strait.
1500. Gaspar Cortereal entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
1518. Baron de Léry visited Sable Island.
1524. Verrazzano explored the Atlantic Coast of Nova Scotia.
1534. June 21. Landing of Jacques Cartier at Esquimaux Bay. First landing on Canadian soil.
1535. July. Second visit of Cartier.—Sept. 14. Cartier landed at Stadacone (Quebec).—Oct. 2. Cartier visited Hochelaga (Montreal). Spent winter near Quebec.
1540. Third visit of Cartier.
1542-3. The Sieur de Roberval and his party wintered at Cap Rouge, near Quebec.
1557. Sept. 1. Death of Jacques Cartier.
1598. The Marquis de la Roche landed 60 convicts on Sable Island.
1603. Champlain sails for this country under Pontgravé, and arrives at Quebec June 22.
1604. De Monts and Champlain on the coast of Nova Scotia.
1605. Founding of Port Royal by the Baron de Poutrincourt.
1608. Second visit of Champlain.—July 3. Founding of Quebec, the first permanent settlement of New France.
1609. Champlain defeated the Iroquois near Crown Point and discovered Lake Champlain.
1610. Henry Hudson wintered in James Bay, having spent three months in exploring Hudson Bay. Poutrincourt in Acadia.
1611. Jesuits arrived in Port Royal, Acadia.
1612. Lescarbot's "Nouvelle France" published.
1613. St. Johns, Newfoundland, founded. Ottawa River ascended by Champlain. Argall of Virginia destroyed Port Royal, Acadia.
1615. Lakes Huron, Ontario, and Nipissing examined by Champlain. Récollet missions began.
1616. William Baffin explored Baffin Bay. First schools in Canada begun; one at Three Rivers, and the second at Tadousac. In both cases the teachers were Récollet fathers. Champlain attacks the Onondagas.
1617. Canada invaded by the Iroquois. Louis Hébert, the first farmer, arrived in Quebec. First marriage in New France.
1620. Population of Québec, 60 persons.
1621. First register of births, deaths, and marriages, opened in Québec. First code of laws promulgated at Quebec. William de Caën in Canada.
1623. Nova Scotia first settled by the English.
1625. Jesuits first arrived in New France. Order of Baronets of Nova Scotia created.
1626. Feb. 28. First Seigniory granted, to Louis Hébert, St. Joseph—Brébeuf founded a mission near Lake Huron.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CANADIAN HISTORY

1627. Canada, including Acadia, granted to the Company of "100 Associates" by the King of France. Feudal system established in New France.
1628. Port Royal (Acadia) taken by Sir David Kirke. Quebec summoned to surrender to the English. First arrival of Scotch settlers.
1629. July. Capture of Quebec by the English under Sir David Kirke.
1630. Charles La Tour defeated his father at Fort St. Louis, Acadia.
1632. Canada, Cape Breton, and Acadia, restored to France by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. Champlain appointed the first Governor of Canada after the restoration. First school opened in Quebec. Jesuits' Relations begun, extending to 1679.
1635. Marquis de Gamache founded Jesuits' College in Quebec. Lake Michigan discovered by Nicolet.—December 25. Death of Champlain at Quebec.
1638. First earthquake on record in Canada.
1639. Ursuline Convent founded at Quebec. Hôtel-Dieu founded in Quebec by Duchesse D'Aiguillon.
1640. Lake Erie discovered by the Jesuits Chaumonot and Brêbeuf.
1641. Pères Raymbault and Jogues reached Lake Superior.
1642. May 18. Ville Marie (Montreal) founded by Maisonneuve. Fort Richelieu (now Sorel) founded by Montmagny.
1642–1667. Frequent and serious wars between the French and the Iroquois Indians.
1644. Hôtel-Dieu, Montreal, founded by Mademoiselle Mance.
1645. Montmagny made peace with the Iroquois at Three Rivers, July 14. Fort La Tour taken by Charnisay.
1646. Father Jogues assassinated by the Mohawks.
1649. Ruin of the Huron missions and murder of Brébeuf, Lalemant, and Daniel.
1654. Acadia taken by the English.
1655. Treaty of Westminster, restoring Canada and Acadia to the French.
1657. Acadia transferred to Sir William Temple. Canada made a Vicariate Apostolic. Sulpitians arrived.
1659. M. de Laval, first Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, arrived from France.
1660. Dollard des Ormeaux saves Quebec.
1663. Company of "100 Associates" dissolved. Royal Government established. First Courts of Law. Great earthquake in the lower St. Lawrence region.—Aug. 18. The Island of Montreal became the property of the Sulpitians.
1664. April 8. Formation of the Company of the West Indies.
1665. Carignan Regiment arrived in New France.
1666. La Salle obtained grant of land on Lake St. Louis, and established Lachine.
1667. Acadia restored to France by Treaty of Breda. White population of New France, 3,918.
1668. Talon constructed two sea-going vessels and established trade between Quebec, the Antilles, and France. First library formed in Quebec. Père Marquette founded a mission at Sault Ste. Marie. Quebec Seminary founded by Bishop Laval.
1670. Hudson's Bay Company founded.
1671. Sieur St. Lusson took formal possession of the Sault Ste. Marie and the adjacent country in the name of Louis XIV.
1672. Count de Frontenac appointed Governor. Population, 6,705.
1673. June 13. Cataraqui (Kingston) founded by La Salle.
1674. Iroquois established in Caughnawaga. R. C. Bishopric established in New France.
1679. "Le Griffin" built on Lake Ontario by La Salle.
1680. Joliet received a grant of the Island of Anticosti.
1682. Compagnie du Nord formed at Quebec for fur trading in Hudson Bay.
1686. Troyes and Iberville captured Hudson's Bay Company Forts Rupert and Albany.

1687. La Salle assassinated, March 18.
1689. Aug. 5. Massacre of whites by Indians at Lachine.
1690. Capture of Port Royal by Sir William Phips, and his unsuccessful attack upon Quebec.
1691. Peter Schuyler's raid into Canada by way of Lake Champlain.
1692. Acadia became part of Massachusetts. Population of New France, 12,431.
1696. Nova Scotia made a Royal Province. Iberville destroys St. Johns, Newfoundland.
1697. Treaty of Ryswick. Mutual restoration of places taken during the war. Great sea fight between Iberville and the Hudson's Bay Company's ships on Hudson Bay; Iberville winning, Fort Nelson fell into the hands of the French. Frontenac's last campaign against the Iroquois.
1698. Nov. 2. Death of Frontenac. Population of Canada, 13,355.
1701. De Callières at Montreal signed a treaty of peace with the Iroquois and other Indian tribes.
1702. De Beauharnois commissioned Intendant of Justice, Police, and Finances of Canada.
1704. Benjamin Church led an expedition from Massachusetts against Acadia in retaliation for Hertel de Rouville's attack upon Deerfield.
1706. Death of Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville.
1707. Col. March attacked unsuccessfully Port Royal.
1708. May 6. Death of Laval, first R. C. Bishop of Quebec, from Oct. 1674 to Jan. 1688.
1709-10-11. Canada invaded by the English. Port Royal (Annapolis) taken by Nicholson (1710). Sir H. Walker's fleet partly destroyed at Ile aux Œufs, Aug. 22. One thousand lives lost.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht, by which Hudson Bay and adjacent territory, Nova Scotia (Acadia), and Newfoundland were ceded to the English. Louisbourg founded by French from Newfoundland.
1719. First Government founded by the English in Nova Scotia.
1720. Population of New France, 24,434, and of St. John's Island (Prince Edward Island), about 100. Governor and Council appointed for Nova Scotia.
1737. Iron smelted at the St. Maurice forges. Giles Hocquart, Intendant, initiated Industrial Exhibitions by sending products of the Forests, the Mines, the Fisheries, and the Field of Canada to France to be publicly exhibited.
1738. Grey Nunnery, Montreal, founded.
1739. Population of New France, 42,701.
1744. Charlevoix published his history of New France.
1745. Louisbourg taken by the New Englanders.
1746. Tragic failure of D'Anville's expedition against Halifax.
1747. English defeated in Grand Pré, Nova Scotia.
1748. Restoration of Louisbourg to the French in exchange for Madras, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed Oct. 18, 1748.
1749. June 21. The city of Halifax founded by Lord Halifax; 2,544 British emigrants brought out by the Hon. Edward Cornwallis.
1752. March 23. Issue of the Halifax "Gazette," the first paper published in Canada.
1753. George Washington's mission to Fort Lebœuf.
1754. Washington defeated at Great Meadows.
1755. Expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia. About 6,000 were deported. Braddock's defeat. Dieskau defeated by Johnson at Lake George.
1756. War between France and England. Montcalm reaches Quebec.
1757. Montcalm takes Fort William Henry.
1758. Montcalm defeats Abercrombie at Ticonderoga. Final capture of Louisbourg by the English under General Amherst.

1759. July 25. Capture of Fort Niagara by the English under Prideaux and Johnson.—July 26. The siege of Quebec begins.—Sept. 13. Battle of the Plains of Abraham and defeat of the French by General Wolfe, who was killed on the field.—Sept. 14. Death of Montcalm.—Sept. 18. Capitulation of Quebec to Admiral Saunders and General Townshend.

1760. Unsuccessful attack on Quebec by Lévis. Capitulation of Montreal (Sept. 8) and completion of the conquest of Canada. Population of New France, 70,000. Military rule began, lasting till the peace of 1763.

1762. British population of Nova Scotia, 8,104. First English settlement in New Brunswick.

1763. Feb. 10. Treaty of Paris signed, by which France ceded and guaranteed to His Britannic Majesty in full right "Canada with all its dependencies."—Cape Breton and Isle St. Jean annexed to Nova Scotia. Labrador, Anticosti, and the Magdalen Islands annexed to Newfoundland.—Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas, organized a futile conspiracy.

1764. Issue of the Quebec "Gazette." Montreal nearly destroyed by fire.

1766. Peace with Pontiac.

1768. General Carleton, afterward Lord Dorchester, appointed Governor-General. Charlottetown, P. E. Island, founded.

1769. St. John's Island (Prince Edward Island) made into a separate Province, with Walter Patterson for the first Governor.

1773. Escheat of Jesuits' Estate in Canada consequent on the order being abolished.

1774. The "Quebec Act" passed.

1775. Outbreak of the American Revolution and invasion of Canada by the Americans under Montgomery and Arnold. General Montgomery was defeated and killed on December 31 in attack on Quebec.

1776. Reenforcements arrived from England and the Americans were finally driven out of Canada. Naval engagement on Lake Champlain.

1778. Burgoyne's invasion of New York and surrender at Saratoga.

1779. Frederick Haldimand succeeds Carleton as Governor-General. Negotiations with Vermont begun.

1782. Northwest Fur and Trading Co. organized in Montreal.

1783. Signing of Treaty of Paris; recognition of independence of the 13 States and definition of the boundary line between Canada and the United States. Kingston founded by United Empire Loyalists. Nearly 500 families of U. E. Loyalists from New York landed at Shelburne, N. S.

1784. Population of Canada, 113,012. (U. E. Loyalists in Upper Canada not included.) Fredericton, N. B., founded by U. E. Loyalists. Cape Breton separated from Nova Scotia politically.—Aug. 16. New Brunswick made a separate Province; population, 11,457. British population in Nova Scotia, 32,000 (about 11,000 Acadians not included). Migration into Canada and Nova Scotia of the United Empire Loyalists continued.

1785. May 18. Date of charter of St. John, N. B., as Parrtown, the oldest incorporated town in Canada—Sydney, C. B., founded by Lieutenant-Governor Desbarres.

1786. First classical school in Upper Canada opened. Halifax Marine Association founded for encouragement of trade.—Oct. 23. The New Brunswick Government moved from St. John to Ste. Anne's Point (now Fredericton).

1787. Lord Dorchester Governor-General. First Colonial See established in the British Empire in connection with the Church of England, in Nova Scotia.

1788. Western Canada (now Ontario) divided into four districts, and English law introduced. King's College (N. S.) opened.

1789. Quebec Agricultural Society formed by Lord Dorchester. Halifax Agricultural Society also formed. Order in Council established the United Empire Loyalists.

1791 "Constitutional Act" passed Parliament. Division of the Province of Quebec into two Provinces, viz., Upper and Lower Canada. Act went into force by Royal proclamation, Dec. 26. Population of the two Provinces, 161,311.

1792. First Executive Council for Upper Canada appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe.—Sept. 17. First meeting of the Legislature of Upper Canada at Newark (Niagara), under Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe.—Dec. 17. Opening of the Legislature of Lower Canada, at Quebec, by Lieutenant-Governor Clarke.—Fortnightly mail service established between Canada and the United States.

1793. Importation of slaves forbidden in Upper Canada. Upper and Lower Canada separated from the Church of England See of Nova Scotia, and made a separate See. Toronto given the name of York. Upper Canada "Gazette" (first paper in Upper Canada) published.

1796. Lord Dorchester resigns and leaves Canada; General Prescott succeeds him as Governor-General. The seat of Government of Upper Canada removed from Niagara to York (Toronto). X. Y. Fur Trading Co. formed.

1797. George III directed waste lands of the Crown in Upper Canada to be set aside for schools.

1798. The name of St. John's Island changed to that of Prince Edward Island, in honor of the Duke of Kent, the change taking effect in 1799. Population, 4,500.

1800. The first Baptist Association in Lower Canada organized at Grenville. Jesuits' estates taken possession of by the Government. New Brunswick College established. Peter Hunter administrator of Lower Canada.

1802. King's College (N. S.) granted a royal charter.

1803. Lord Selkirk sent 800 Scotchmen to Prince Edward Island.

1804. Sedition Act passed in Upper Canada. N. W. Co. and X. Y. Co. amalgamated.

1806. Nov. 22. Issue of "Le Canadien," the first newspaper printed entirely in French. Francis Gore became Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. Population of Upper Canada, 70,718, and of Lower Canada, 250,000.

1807. Sir James Craig Governor-General.

1808. Jonathan Sewell became Chief Justice of Lower Canada.

1809. First steamer on St. Lawrence River from Montreal to Quebec.

1811. Judges excluded from Parliament. McGill University founded. Earl of Selkirk received a grant of 74,000,000 acres from Hudson's Bay Co., including all the present Province of Manitoba and 27,000,000 acres more. General Prevost made Governor-General and General Brock Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

1812. One hundred Scotch settlers went to Red River by way of Hudson Bay. War of 1812-15 between Great Britain and the United States.—July 12. General Hull's force of 2,500 men crossed the Detroit River near Sandwich into Canadian territory.—July 17. Fort Michilimackinac surrendered to British.—Aug. 5. Brownstown Village. British troops and Indians under Tecumseh defeat the United States forces.—Aug. 29. Hull surrendered Detroit to Brock.—Oct. 13. United States troops under Van Rensselaer crossed the Niagara River to Queenston. They were repulsed and defeated. General Brock killed.—Nov. 20. United States General Dearborn with about 2,000 troops attacked Odelltown, but was driven back to Champlain by Major de Salaberry.

1813. Jan. 22. Colonel Proctor (British) with 500 soldiers and 800 Indians defeated United States General Winchester at Frenchtown, capturing the commander and 405 of his men.—April 27. United States forces under General Dearborn capture York. United States General Pike killed.—May 27. General Dearborn captured Fort George.—June 5. After the capture of Fort George the troops of the United States invaded Canada 4,000 strong, but were surprised and defeated at Stoney Creek.—June 24. Laura Secord's exploit.—Aug. 20. General Hampton with 5,000 men entered Canada.—Sept. 10. Perry (United States) defeated Barclay on Lake Erie.—Oct. 5. United States General Harrison defeated Proctor at Moraviantown. Tecumseh killed.—Oct. 26. The French Canadian militia, led by Lieutenant-Colonel de Salaberry tricked and defeated General Hampton at Chateauguay.—Nov. 11. Battle of Chrysler's Farm. The invading United States force defeated.—Dec. 11. United States General McClure abandoned Fort George, burned Newark, and retreated to United States territory.—Dec. 18. Colonel Murray (British) crossed Niagara River and captured Fort Niagara.—Dec. 30. General Riall (British) captured and burned Buffalo.

1814. March 30. United States General Wilkinson attacked British at La Colle Mill and retreated to Plattsburg.—May 6. British captured Oswego and destroyed public property.—July 3. United States General Brown took Fort Erie.—July 5. The Battle of Chippewa, a British defeat.—July 24. The famous battle of Lundy's Lane.—Aug. 15. British General Drummond assaulted Fort Erie, but failed to carry it.—July and August. Sir John Sherbrooke of Nova Scotia invaded the State of Maine and held a chief portion of it till the close of the war.—Sept. 11. British Captain Downie in naval engagement before Plattsburg on Lake Champlain defeated. General Prevost's disgraceful retreat from Plattsburg.—Sept. 17. United States troops made an unsuccessful sortie from Fort Erie.—Nov. 5. United States forces evacuated Fort Erie, destroyed it, and went across to United States territory.—Dec. 24. War terminated by the Treaty of Ghent.—Population of Upper Canada, 95,000 and of Lower Canada, 335,000.

1815. Prevost recalled to be court-martialed. Papineau elected Speaker of the Assembly.

1816. Prevost died. Common schools established in Upper Canada. Sherbrooke became Governor-General.

1817. First treaty with the Northwest Indians. First bank opened in Montreal—the Bank of Montreal. Agreement with United States respecting gunboats on the Great Lakes. Ottawa founded by Nicholas Sparks. Robert Gourlay episode.

1818. "The Family Compact" appears. Convention signed at London regulating the privileges of Americans in the British North American fisheries. Bank of Quebec established. Maitland, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

1819. Duke of Richmond succeeds Sherbrooke. Died from hydrophobia the next year.

1820. Cape Breton reannexed to Nova Scotia. Bank of New Brunswick incorporated. Dalhousie Governor-General.

1821. Beginning of the Lachine Canal. (First vessel passed through in 1825.) McGill College received its charter. Quebec Savings Bank opened. Amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Co. and the Northwest Trading Co.

1822. General Hospital, Montreal, founded.

1824. Literary and Historical Society of Quebec founded.

1825. Great fire in the Miramichi District of New Brunswick. W. L. Mackenzie first appears in Canadian politics.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CANADIAN HISTORY

1826. Canada Land Company formed. Mackenzie's printing office wrecked.
1827. Treaty of London. Convention between the United Kingdom and the United States relative to territory west of the Rocky Mountains.
1828. Saguenay District explored. Pictou and Sydney made free ports. Kempt Governor-General.
1829. First Welland Canal opened. Colborne Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. Agitation for Responsible Government.
1830. Lord Aylmer Governor-General.
1831. Population—Upper Canada, 236,702; Lower Canada, 553,131.
1832. Cholera in Canada checked immigration.
1834. Toronto incorporated. Cholera again in Canada.
1835. Earl of Gosford Governor-General.
1836. Opening of the railway from Laprairie to St. Johns, the first railway in Canada. Church of England established in Upper Canada. Francis Head Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.
1837. Rebellion in both Provinces. Papineau's forces in Lower Province defeated and he escaped to the United States. Mackenzie's abortive attempt to capture Toronto, and his escape to the United States. Sir John Colborne in command of the military forces of both Provinces.
1838. Disorders continue in both Provinces, fostered by citizens of the United States. Head recalled and Sir George Arthur takes his place. Earl of Durham became Governor-General of British North America in May and resigned in September. Colborne succeeded him.
1839. Durham's report communicated to British Parliament. Lord Sydenham Governor-General.
1840. July 23. Act of Union passes British Parliament and receives royal assent.—Death of Lord Durham.
1841. Feb. 10. Union of the two Provinces under the name of the Province of Canada, and establishment of responsible Government. Population of Upper Canada, 455,688.—May 17. Landslide from the Citadel rock, Quebec; 32 persons killed.—June 13. Opening of the first United Parliament at Kingston by Lord Sydenham.
1842. Aug. 9. Settlement of the boundary line between Canada and the United States by the Ashburton Treaty.—Sir Charles Bigot Governor-General.
1843. Lord Metcalfe Governor-General. Victoria, B. C., founded by James Douglas.
1844. Population of Lower Canada, 697,084. General elections in the Province of Canada.
1845. Large fires in the city of Quebec; 25,000 people rendered homeless.
1846. Oregon Boundary Treaty.
1847. Lord Elgin became Governor-General.
1848. The St. Lawrence Canals open for navigation. Responsible Government granted by the Imperial Parliament to Nova Scotia and to New Brunswick.
1849. April 25. Riots in Montreal over the passage of the Rebellion Losses bill, and burning of Parliament Library at Montreal.—Vancouver Island proclaimed a British colony.
1850. The first sod of the Northern Railway turned by Lady Elgin.
1851. Population of Upper Canada, 952,004; of Lower Canada, 890,261; of New Brunswick, 193,800; and of Nova Scotia, 276,854. Responsible Government granted by Imperial Parliament to Prince Edward Island.
1852. Beginning of the Grand Trunk Railway. Fire in Montreal rendered homeless 10,000 people.
1853. May 9. First ocean steamer arrived in Quebec.
1854. Abolition of Seignorial Tenure in Lower Canada and settlement of the Clergy Reserve question.—June 5. Reciprocity Treaty with the United States signed at Washington.
1855. Elgin resigned and Edmund W. Head became Governor-General.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CANADIAN HISTORY

1856. Allan steamship line commenced regular fortnightly steam service between Canada and Great Britain. First meeting of Legislature of Vancouver Island.

1858. Selection by the Queen of the city of Ottawa as the capital of the Dominion and permanent seat of Government made known to the Legislature on the 16th of March. Atlantic cable laid between England and Nova Scotia. Representative institutions granted to mainland of British Columbia. The Parliamentary "Double Shuffle."—April. Gold found in British Columbia.

1859. "Nor'Wester" newspaper appeared in Fort Garry, the first newspaper in the Red River region.

1860. The beginnings of Winnipeg made their appearance.—Aug. 8. The Prince of Wales arrived in Quebec.—Aug. 25. Opening of the Victoria Bridge by the Prince of Wales.—Sept. 1. Laying of the corner-stone of the Dominion Buildings at Ottawa by the Prince of Wales.

1861. Lord Monck succeeds Head as Governor-General. Population of Upper Canada, 1,396,091; Lower Canada, 1,111,566; of New Brunswick, 252,047; of Nova Scotia, 330,857; of Prince Edward Island, 80,857; of Vancouver Island, exclusive of Indians, 3,420. Street railways operated in Montreal and Toronto.

1862. Manitoulin Island Treaty with the Indians arranged by Hon. William Macdougall.

1863. Royal assent given to Separate School bill passed by the Canadian Legislature.

1864. Conference at Charlottetown re Confederation. Quebec Conference held Oct. 10-29. Resolutions passed in favor of Confederation of British North American Provinces.

1865. July 30. Death of Sir E. P. Taché, one of the "Fathers of Confederation."

1866. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick accepted Confederation with Canada. Great fire in Quebec, 2,129 houses burned in St. Roch's and St. Sauveur's suburbs.—May 17. Termination of the Reciprocity Treaty, in consequence of notice given by the United States.—June 1. Invasion of Canada by Fenians.—June 8. First meeting of the Legislature of the Province of Canada in the new buildings at Ottawa. At this session the final resolutions necessary on the part of the Province of Canada to effect the Confederation of the Provinces were passed. —Nov. 17. Union of Vancouver Island and British Columbia proclaimed.

1867. Feb. 10. The British North American act passed by the Imperial Parliament.—July 1. Union of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick under the name of the Dominion of Canada proclaimed. Lord Monck was the first Governor-General of the Dominion, and the first Parliament met on the 6th of November, Sir John A. Macdonald being Prime Minister.—Dec. 10. Death of Hon. Edward Whalen, one of the "Fathers of Confederation."

1868. April 1. Uniform rate of three cents for letters throughout the Dominion adopted. Post-Office Savings Banks established in the Dominion. —April 7. Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, M. P., one of the "Fathers of Confederation," murdered at Ottawa.—July 31. The Rupert's Land act passed by the Imperial Government providing for the acquisition by the Dominion of the Northwest Territories.

1869. Feb. 2. Lord Lisgar became Governor-General.—June 22. Bill passed providing for the government of the Northwest Territories.—Oct. 29. Hon. Wm. McDougall appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. Riel rebellion in Red River country begins.—Nov. 19. Deed of surrender signed confirming the Hudson's Bay Company's sale and transfer to Her Majesty of the company's territorial rights in the Northwest Territories.

1870. March 4. Thomas Scott shot at Fort Garry.—May 11. £300,000 paid by the Dominion for Hudson's Bay Co.'s rights in Rupert's Land.—July 15. Addition of the Northwest Territories to the Dominion and admission of the Province of Manitoba into the Confederation.—Sept. 24. Arrival at Fort Garry of the expedition under Colonel (now Lord) Wolseley, when the rebels were found to have dispersed.

1871. Pacific Railway surveys begun. May 8. Signing of the Treaty of Washington. New Brunswick School act passed.—July 20. Admission of British Columbia into the Confederation. British Columbia granted Responsible Government.—Population of the four Provinces, 3,485,761; of Manitoba, 18,995; of British Columbia, 36,247, and of Prince Edward Island, 94,021. Total, 3,635,024.—Nov. 11. The last regular troops left Quebec.

1872. Abolition of dual representation. Dominion archives established. Earl of Dufferin became Governor-General.

1873. April 1. Wreck of steamship "Atlantic" near Halifax; 547 persons drowned.—May 1. Hon. Joseph Howe made Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.—May 20. Death of Sir George E. Cartier, one of the "Fathers of Confederation," in London.—June 1. Hon. Joseph Howe died.—July 1. Admission of Prince Edward Island into the Confederation.—Nov. 6. Pacific Railway scandal. Resignation of Sir John Macdonald and his Ministry.—Nov. 7. Mackenzie Administration formed. Island of St. Juan awarded to the United States by the Emperor of Germany, and British evacuated it.—Dec. 9. Death of Wm. H. Steeves, one of the "Fathers of Confederation."

1875. Rupert's Land and Northwest Territories placed under jurisdiction of a Lieutenant-Governor separate and distinct from Manitoba. Prince Edward Island Railway opened. Icelanders settled in Manitoba. Presbyterian Church in Canada formed by the union of all the Presbyterian churches.—Aug. 21. Death of George Coles, one of the "Fathers of Confederation."

1876. Opening of the Intercolonial Railway from Quebec to Halifax. Supreme Court of Canada, first session. District of Keewatin created by Act of Parliament.

1877. Jan. 2. Hon. Judge McCully, one of the "Fathers of Confederation," died.—June 20. Great fire in St. John, New Brunswick, 1,612 dwelling-houses and 615 business places destroyed.—October. First exportation of wheat from Manitoba to Great Britain.—Nov. 23. Award by Halifax Fisheries Commission of the sum of $5,500,000 to be paid by the United States to the Imperial Government.

1878. Conservatives won in general election, and Sir John A. Macdonald again Prime Minister. Marquess of Lorne became Governor-General of Canada.

1879. Adoption of a protective tariff, otherwise called the "National Policy."—Oct. 7. Death of W. H. Pope, one of the "Fathers of Confederation."

1880. May 9. Death of the Hon. George Brown. All British possessions on North American continent (excepting Newfoundland) annexed to Canada by Imperial Order in Council from Sept. 1, 1880. The Arctic Archipelago transferred to Canada by Imperial Order in Council. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts founded by the Marquess of Lorne.—Oct. 21. Contract signed for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. First High Commissioner for Canada in London appointed.

1881. April 4. Population of the Dominion, 4,324,810. Royal Society of Canada founded.—May 2. First sod turned by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

1882. May 8. Provisional districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca created. General election. Conservatives again successful.

1883. Methodist churches in Canada formed into one body—the Methodist Church in Canada. First Congress of the Church of England in Canada opened in Hamilton. Marquess of Lansdowne became Governor-General, being the fifth since the formation of the Confederation.

1884. Boundary between Ontario and Manitoba settled by decision of Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council and confirmed by Her Majesty in Council, Aug. 11, 1884. Centennial of the settlement of Upper Canada (Ontario) by United Empire Loyalists.

1885. March 26. Outbreak of the second Riel rebellion in the Northwest. Hostilities at Duck Lake.—April 2. Massacre at Frog Lake.—April 14. Fort Pitt abandoned.—April 24. Engagement at Fish Creek.—May 12. Battle of Batoche and defeat of the rebels.—May 16. Riel surrendered.—May 26. Surrender of Poundmaker.—July 2. Capture of Big Bear and final suppression of the rebellion.—July 17. Death of Hon. J. C. Chapais, one of the "Fathers of Confederation."—Nov. 7. Driving of the last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway.—Nov. 16. Hanging of Riel.

1886. Opening of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition in London. Town of Vancouver totally destroyed by fire; four houses left standing, fifty lives lost. First through train, Canadian Pacific Railway, left Montreal for Vancouver. First (and thus far only) Canadian Cardinal Archbishop Taschereau.

1887. Interprovincial Conference held at Quebec. General election; Conservatives win.—April 4. Important Conference in London between representatives of the principal Colonies and the Imperial Government.—Nov. 15. Meeting of the Fisheries Commission at Washington.

1888. Feb. 15. Signing of the Fishery Treaty at Washington.—June 11. Lord Stanley became the sixth Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada.—August. Rejection of the Fishery Treaty by the United States Senate.

1889. Sept. 19. Landslide (second) from Citadel Rock, Quebec; 45 persons killed.

1890. Manitoba School act passed. Federal Parliament granted Responsible Government to Northwest Territories.

1891. General election, a Conservative victory.—April 6. Population of the Dominion 4,833,239.—June 6. The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B., Premier of the Dominion and one of the "Fathers of Confederation," died.

1892. Feb. 29. Treaty of Washington (Bering Sea) providing for arbitration as to seal fishing. Convention as to boundaries between Canada and the United States signed.—April 17. Death of Hon. Alexander Mackenzie.—May 24. Death of Sir Alexander Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.—July 23. Manitoba voted in favor of prohibition of liquor traffic.—Sept. 28. Legislative Council of New Brunswick abolished.—Dec. 5. Resignation (from ill-health) of Sir J. J. C. Abbott, K.C.M.G., Premier of the Dominion. Sir John S. D. Thompson called upon to form a government.

1893. Legislative Council and Assembly of Prince Edward Island merged into one body.—April 4. The Court of Arbitration, respecting the seal fisheries in Bering Sea, which met formally on March 23, began its session.—Sept. 18. Earl of Aberdeen assumed office of Governor-General of Canada, being the seventh since confederation.—Sept. 19. Death of Sir A. T. Galt, one of the "Fathers of Confederation."—Oct. 30. Death of Hon. Sir J. J. C. Abbott. Prince Edward Island voted in favor of prohibition of liquor traffic; majority, 7,254.

1894. Jan. 1. Ontario voted in favor of prohibition of liquor traffic; majority, 81,769.—March 15. Nova Scotia voted in favor of prohibition of liquor traffic; majority, 31,401.—June 28. Opening at Ottawa of the Colonial Conference.—Dec. 12. Death of Right Hon. Sir John Thompson in Windsor Castle.—Dec. 21. Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell became Premier of Canada and formed a new Ministry.

1895. March 21. Remedial order relating to Manitoba schools passed.—Sept. 10. Sault Ste. Marie Canal opened.

1896. Jan. 2. Six Ministers resigned during debate on address. Sir Mackenzie Bowell re-formed his Cabinet.—April 24. Lord Strathcona of Montreal appointed High Commissioner for Canada in England.—April 27. Resignation of Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell as Premier. Governor-General sent for Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., who formed a Ministry.—June 23. General elections. The Liberals won.—July 11. Hon. W. Laurier accepted position as Premier.—Nov. 24. Bering Sea Commission met at Victoria, B. C.

1897. June 22. Special celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee throughout the British Empire. Great gold strike in the Klondike. —July 7. The Colonial Premiers appointed members of the Privy Council of England.—Dec. 22. Bering Sea Arbitrators awarded Canadian sealers $464,000.—Dec. 25. The Pope published an encyclical on the Manitoba School Question, advising acceptance by the Catholics of Manitoba of concessions embodied in Manitoba School Settlement.

1898. April 5. Hon. Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, brought down budget. Chief feature was completion of the Preferential British tariff of 1897. —April 12. Death of Cardinal Taschereau. The District of Yukon was constituted and declared to be a separate territory under the name of the Yukon Territory.—Aug. 23. Joint High Commission met at Quebec.—Sept. 21. Monument to Champlain unveiled in Quebec city.—Sept. 29. Plebiscite on question of legislative prohibition of liquor traffic resulted in a vote for prohibition, 278,380; against, 264,693. About forty-four per cent of the number of voters on the lists polled their votes.—Nov. 12. Earl of Minto sworn in as Governor-General of Canada.—Dec. 13. Announced that Lord Strathcona gives a million-dollar endowment for Royal Victoria College for Women in connection with McGill University.

1899. Jan. 1. Letter postage in Canada reduced to two cents.—Jan. 20. Doukhobors arrived in Canada and settled in the Northwest.—May. 23. First celebration of "Empire Day" in Canada.—Oct. 1. Mgr. Falconio, the Pope's Apostolic Delegate, arrived in Canada.—Oct. 11. Boer war begun. Many Canadians took part.—Oct. 18. Hon. George W. Ross becomes Premier of Ontario.—Dec. 7. General elections in Manitoba resulted in defeat of Hon. Thos. Greenway.

1900. June 15. James Dunsmuir sworn in as Premier of British Columbia.—June 21. Hon. Sir Henry G. Joly de Lotbinière appointed Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, vice Hon. T. R. McInnes removed. —Aug. 7. Hon. A. G. Jones became Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.—Aug. 31. Hon. H. R. Emmerson, Premier of New Brunswick, resigned and Hon. L. J. Tweedie succeeded him.—Sept. 29. Hon. R. R. Roblin became Premier of Manitoba, succeeding Hon. Hugh J. Macdonald.—Sept. 30. Hon. S. N. Parent succeeded Hon. F. G. Marchand as Premier of Quebec.—Oct. 15. Hon. D. H. McMillan became Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and Administrator of Keewatin.—Nov. 7. Dominion general elections. Government sustained.

1901. Jan. 22. Queen Victoria died after a glorious reign of nearly sixty-four years. Accession of His Imperial Majesty King Edward VII.—Feb. 8. Canadian Parliament passed an address of condolence to King Edward VII upon the death of Queen Victoria.—July 4. The deed

of sale of the Plains of Abraham to the Dominion Government signed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.—Sept. 14. President McKinley dies in Buffalo. Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York enthusiastically welcomed in Canada.

1902. Feb. 12. Death of the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, 1872-78.—March 22. Marconi selects Table Head, Glace Bay, Cape Breton, for wireless telegraph station.—May 31. Peace signed at Pretoria, and the war between Boer and Briton brought to an end. —June 30. Imperial Conference opened at London—ended Aug. 12.— July 1. Canadian Contingent reviewed in London by the Queen.— July 25. Lord Dundonald took over command of the Canadian militia. —Aug. 9. Coronation of the King and Queen in Westminster Abbey. —Sept. 20. Resignation of Hon. J. I. Tarte from the Government.— Nov. 21. Premier Dunsmuir, British Columbia, resigns, and is succeeded by Hon. E. G. Prior.

1903. Feb. 11. Alaskan Boundary Treaty ratified by United States Senate.— April 19. Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat, G.C.M.G., one of the "Fathers of Confederation" and Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, died.—Oct. 17. Alaskan boundary settled by the tribunal appointed to consider the questions involved.—Dec. 2. University of Ottawa destroyed by fire.

1904. Oct. 14. Archbishop Bond appointed Primate of all Canada—(Church of England).—Nov. 3. General elections for Federal Parliament; Government sustained.—Dec. 20. Earl Grey assumed office as Governor-General.

1905. Jan. 7. International Waterways Commission completed by appointment two last Canadian Commissioners.—Jan. 12. Tenth Parliament of Canada opens. R. F. Sutherland chosen Speaker.—Jan. 26. Resolution introduced in Manitoba Legislature demanding extension of boundaries.—Jan. 25. Ross Government (Liberal) defeated at the polls in Ontario.—Feb. 20. Canadian Government decides to take over Halifax and Esquimalt. Announcement in Parliament.—Feb. 21. Autonomy Bills to create provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta introduced in Parliament.—March 1. Hon. Clifford Sifton resigns from Federal Cabinet because of separate school clause in Autonomy Bills.—March 20. Contested educational clauses of Autonomy Bills amended.—March 21. Parent Government (Quebec) resigns and Hon. Lonier Gouin, who had seceded, becomes Premier. No change in party control.—April 1. First turbiner, "Victorian," arrives at Halifax.—July 4. Ontario Government appoints Elective Power Commission.—July 5. Autonomy Bills, as amended, passed in House of Commons.—July 17. Salary of Canadian Premier increased to $12,000; Opposition leader given salary of $7,000.—Aug. 20. Senator Wark dies in 102d year.—Sept. 1. Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan inaugurated.—Sept. 2. Hon. A. C. Rutherford first Premier of Alberta. —Sept. 5. Hon. Walter Scott first Premier of Saskatchewan.—Dec. 21. Joint committee on union of Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches in session.—Dec. 25. Hon. Raymond Prefontaine, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, dies in Paris, France. His body is brought home on British warship "Dominion."

1906. Jan. 16. Canada takes control of Halifax garrison.—Feb. 9. Grand Trunk Pacific decide to call western terminus "Prince Rupert."—Feb. 26. Royal Insurance Commission appointed.—March 9. Lethbridge coal strike opens, lasting till Dec. 2; gives rise to law making investigation compulsory in strikes on public utilities.—April 20. Parliament votes $100,000 for relief of San Francisco earthquake sufferers; declined by the United States Government.—April 26. Edmonton selected as Capital of Alberta.—May 1. William Sherring wins Marathon race in Athens.—June 1. Ontario Railway & Municipal Board appointed.

—June 20. Murray Government (Liberal) sustained in Nova Scotia.—July 1. Change in financial year to March 31 goes into effect.—July 13. Assent given to Dominion Lord's Day Act. Assent given to Dominion Usury Act.—Sept. 17. Manitoba Government direct all Public Schools to fly Union Jack.—Oct. 8. Serious labor riots at Buckingham, Quebec. Oct. 13. Conference of Provincial Premiers agree on increase of Provincial subsidies, British Columbia dissenting.—Oct. 15. Ontario Bank taken over by syndicate of chartered banks.—Nov. 19. Niagara electric power first delivered in Toronto.—Nov. 22. Autumn sessions of Parliament inaugurated. Hon. C. S. Hyman resigns from Dominion Parliament; resignation invalid.—Nov. 23. Canada terminates postal convention with the United States.—Dec. 1. New triple schedule tariff introduced.

1907. Jan. 4. Dominion Government decides to impose export duty on electric power, unless exported under certain conditions.—Jan. 18. Parliament votes $50,000 for relief of Jamaica earthquake sufferers.—Jan. 25. Hon. G. P. Graham chosen leader of Ontario Liberals.—Jan. 30. Japanese treaty approved by Parliament.—Feb. 26. Insurance Commission Report presented to Parliament—March 1. Lord's Day Act becomes law.—March 7. Roblin Government (Conservative) sustained in Manitoba.—March 14. Provincial Subsidies Bill introduced in Parliament.—March 22. Compulsory Investigation Act approved.—April 2. Hon. H. R. Emmerson resigns from Federal Cabinet. Sues for libel; suit allowed to lapse.—April 4. Dr. W. H. Drummond, "habitant" poet, dies.—April 15. Fourth Imperial Conference opens in London, England.—April 20. Hon. C. S. Hyman completes resignation validly and retires from the Cabinet.—May 8. New postal convention with the United States goes into effect.—May 31. Hon. William Pugsley resigns Premiership of New Brunswick to enter the Dominion Cabinet; succeeded by Hon. C. W. Robinson.—June 7. Prince Fushimi of Japan received in Quebec. Sovereign Bank writes off one-fourth of capital stock and all reserve fund.—Aug. 20. R. L. Borden enunciates new Conservative platform at Halifax.—Aug. 29. Quebec Bridge disaster; 80 men killed. An engineering collapse of great magnitude.—Sept. 7. Anti-Japanese race riots in Vancouver, B.C.—Sept. 20. A. G. Mackay chosen Liberal leader in Ontario, Mr. G. P. Graham having entered Federal Cabinet.—Oct. 12. Hon. R. Lemieux sent as envoy to negotiate with Japanese Government in regard to immigration.—Nov. 9. Sir Charles Tupper called to the Imperial Privy Council.

1908. Jan. 17. Sovereign Bank fails.—Jan. 28. Hon. R. Lemieux reports agreement with Japan *re* immigration.—Feb. 7. Natal act passed in British Columbia; held *ultra vires* as against Japanese and Hindus.—Feb. 9. Seed grain voted Western farmers in view of light crops last season. March 3. Robinson Government (Liberal) defeated in New Brunswick. French treaty approved by House of Commons.—March 9. Quebec Bridge report presented.—March 11. National Battlefields Commission established.—March 26. Civil Service Commission report presented.—April 1. Justice Cassels appointed to inquire into Civil Service Commission charges against the Marine and Fisheries Department.—June 8. Whitney government returned in Ontario provincial elections, Conservatives making great gains; small Conservative gains in Quebec's provincial election.

APPENDIX B.

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BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

Purpose An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof, and for Purposes connected therewith.

[*29th March*, 1867.]

Reasons for the Act Whereas the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have expressed their Desire to be federally united into One Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a Constitution similar in Principle to that of the United Kingdom:

And whereas such a Union would conduce to the Welfare of the Provinces and promote the Interests of the British Empire:

And whereas on the Establishment of the Union by Authority of Parliament it is expedient, not only that the Constitution of the Legislative Authority in the Dominion be provided for, but also that the Nature of the Executive Government therein be declared:

And whereas it is expedient that Provision be

made for the eventual Admission into the Union of other Parts of British North America:

Provisions for the future

Be it therefore enacted and declared by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, as follows:

I. Preliminary.

Title of Act

1. This Act may be cited as the British North America Act, 1867.

2. The Provisions of this Act referring to Her Majesty the Queen extend also to the Heirs and Successors of Her Majesty, Kings and Queens of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

II. Union.

The Dominion of Canada

3. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, to declare by Proclamation that, on and after a Day therein appointed, not being more than Six Months after the passing of this Act, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall form and be One Dominion under the Name of Canada; and on and after that Day those three Provinces shall form and be One Dominion under that Name accordingly:

4. The subsequent Provisions of this Act shall, unless it is otherwise expressed or implied, commence and have effect on and after the Union, that

The Name Canada

is to say, on and after the Day appointed for the Union, taking effect in the Queen's Proclamation; and in the same Provisions, unless it is otherwise expressed or implied, the Name Canada shall be taken to mean Canada as constituted under this Act.

The Provinces

5. Canada shall be divided into Four Provinces, named Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick.

Ontario and Quebec

6. The Parts of the Province of Canada (as it exists at the passing of this Act), which formerly constituted respectively the Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, shall be deemed to be severed, and shall form Two separate Provinces. The Part which formerly constituted the Province of Upper Canada shall constitute the Province of Ontario; and the part which formerly constituted the Province of Lower Canada shall constitute the Province of Quebec.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

7. The Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall have the same Limits as at the passing of this Act.

Census regulations

8. In the general Census of the Population of Canada, which is hereby required to be taken in the Year One thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and in every Tenth Year thereafter, the respective Population of the Four Provinces shall be distinguished.

III. Executive Power.

Executive Government

9. The Executive Government and Authority of and over Canada is hereby declared to continue and be vested in the Queen.

10. The Provisions of this Act referring to the

Governor-General extend and apply to the Governor-General for the Time being of Canada, or other the Chief Executive Officer or Administrator for the Time being carrying on the Government of Canada on behalf and in the Name of the Queen, by whatever Title he is designated. The Governor-General

11. There shall be a Council to aid and advise in the Government of Canada, to be styled the Queen's Privy Council for Canada; and the Persons who are to be Members of that Council shall be from Time to Time chosen and summoned by the Governor-General and sworn in as Privy Councillors, and Members thereof may be from Time to Time removed by the Governor-General. The Privy Council

12. All Powers, Authorities, and functions which under any Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the Legislature of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Canada, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, are at the Union vested in or exercisable by the respective Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of those Provinces, with the Advice, or with the Advice and Consent of the respective Executive Councils thereof, or in conjunction with those Councils, or with any Number of Members thereof, or by those Governors or Lieutenant-Governors individually, shall, as far as the same continue in existence and capable of being exercised after the Union in relation to the Government of Canada, be vested in and exercisable by the Governor-General, with the Advice or with the Advice and Consent of or in conjunction with the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, or any Members thereof, or by the Governor-General individ- Governmental Powers

ually, as the Case requires, subject nevertheless (except with respect to such as exist under Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland) to be abolished or altered by the Parliament of Canada.

Governor-General and Council

13. The Provisions of this Act referring to the Governor-General in Council shall be construed as referring to the Governor-General acting by and with the Advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada.

Governor-General's Deputies

14. It shall be lawful for the Queen, if Her Majesty thinks fit, to authorize the Governor-General from Time to Time to appoint any Person or any Persons jointly or severally to be his Deputy or Deputies within any Part or Parts of Canada, and in that Capacity to exercise during the Pleasure of the Governor-General such of the Powers, Authorities, and Functions of the Governor-General as the Governor-General deems it necessary or expedient to assign to him or them, subject to any Limitations or Directions expressed or given by the Queen; but the Appointment of such a Deputy or Deputies shall not affect the Exercise by the Governor-General himself of any Power, Authority, or Function.

Military command

15. The Commander-in-Chief of the Land and Naval Militia, and of all Naval and Military Forces of and in Canada, is hereby declared to continue and be vested in the Queen.

Ottawa the capital

16. Until the Queen otherwise directs, the Seat of Government of Canada shall be Ottawa.

IV. Legislative Power.

Canadian Parliament

17. There shall be One Parliament for Canada, Consisting of the Queen, an Upper House styled the Senate, and the House of Commons.

18. *Repealed — new Section substituted. See Appendix C.*

19. *Related only to calling of First Parliament. Acted upon.*

Sessions of Parliament

20. There shall be a Session of the Parliament of Canada once at least in every Year, so that Twelve Months shall not intervene between the last Sitting of the Parliament in one Session and its first Sitting in the next Session.

The Senate.

The Senate

21. The Senate shall, subject to the Provisions of this Act, consist of Seventy-two Members, who shall be styled Senators.

Constitution of the Senate

22. In relation to the Constitution of the Senate, Canada shall be deemed to consist of Three Divisions—

1. Ontario;
2. Quebec;
3. The Maritime Provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; which Three Divisions shall (subject to the Provisions of this Act) be equally represented in the Senate as follows: Ontario by Twenty-four Senators; Quebec by Twenty-four Senators, and the Maritime Provinces by Twenty-four Senators, twelve thereof representing Nova

Scotia, and twelve thereof representing New Brunswick.[1]

Senators from Quebec

In the Case of Quebec each of the Twenty-four Senators representing that Province shall be appointed for One of the Twenty-four Electoral Divisions of Lower Canada specified in Schedule A. to Chapter One of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada.

Qualifications of a Senator

23. The Qualification of a Senator shall be as follows:—

(1) He shall be of the full Age of Thirty Years:

(2) He shall be either a Natural-born Subject of the Queen, or a Subject of the Queen naturalized by an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the Legislature of One of the Provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Canada, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, before the Union, or of the Parliament of Canada after the Union:

(3) He shall be legally or equitably seized as of Freehold for his own Use and Benefit of Lands or Tenements held in free and common Socage, or seized or possessed for his own Use and Benefit of Lands or Tenements held in Franc aleu or in Roture, within the

[1] The Senate now numbers 81—Ontario, 24; Quebec, 24; Nova Scotia, 10; New Brunswick, 10; Manitoba, 4; British Columbia, 3; Prince Edward Island, 4; North West Territories, 2. See section 147 of this Act. As Prince Edward Island is now admitted into the Dominion, the representatives from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are respectively ten in number. Manitoba has four Senators, its population being over 75,000 (365,688 in 1906).

Province for which he is appointed, of the Value of Four thousand Dollars, over and above all Rents, Dues, Debts, Charges, Mortgages, and Incumbrances due or payable out of or charged on or affecting the same:

(4) His Real and Personal Property shall be together worth Four thousand Dollars over and above his Debts and Liabilities:

(5) He shall be resident in the Province for which he is appointed:

(6) In the Case of Quebec he shall have his Real Property Qualification in the Electoral Division for which he is appointed, or shall be resident in that Division.

Summoning of Senators

24. The Governor-General shall from Time to Time, in the Queen's Name, by Instrument under the Great Seal of Canada, summon qualified Persons to the Senate; and, subject to the Provisions of this Act, every Person so summoned shall become and be a Member of the Senate and a Senator.

25. Such Persons shall be first summoned to the Senate as the Queen by Warrant under Her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual thinks fit to approve, and their Names shall be inserted in the Queen's Proclamation of Union.

Additional Members

26. If at any Time on the Recommendation of the Governor-General the Queen thinks fit to direct that Three or Six Members be added to the Senate, the Governor-General may by Summons to Three or Six qualified Persons (as the Case may be), representing equally the Three Divisions of Canada, add to the Senate accordingly.

27. In case of such Addition being at any Time made, the Governor-General shall not summon any

The making of additions

Person to the Senate, except on a further like Direction by the Queen on the like Recommendation, until each of the Three Divisions of Canada is represented by Twenty-four Senators and no more.

28. The Number of Senators shall not at any Time exceed Seventy-eight. (*See note to Section 22 above.*)

Tenure of office

29. A Senator shall, subject to the Provisions of this Act, hold his Place in the Senate for Life.

30. A Senator may by writing under his Hand addressed to the Governor-General resign His Place in the Senate, and thereupon the same shall be vacant.

Vacancies in the Senate

31. The Place of a Senator shall become vacant in any of the following Cases:—

(1) If for Two consecutive Sessions of the Parliament he fails to give his Attendance in the Senate:

(2) If he takes an Oath or makes a Declaration or Acknowledgment of Allegiance, Obedience or Adherence to a Foreign Power, or does an Act whereby he becomes a Subject or Citizen, or entitled to the Rights or Privileges of a Subject or Citizen, of a Foreign Power:

(3) If he is adjudged Bankrupt or Insolvent, or applies for the Benefit of any Law relating to Insolvent Debtors, or becomes a public Defaulter:

(4) If he is attainted of Treason or convicted of Felony or of any infamous Crime:

(5) If he ceases to be qualified in respect of Property or of Residence; provided that a Senator shall not be deemed to have ceased to be

qualified in respect of Residence by reason only of his residing at the Seat of the Government of Canada while holding an Office under that Government requiring his Presence there.

Filling a Vacancy

32. When a Vacancy happens in the Senate by Resignation, Death, or otherwise, the Governor-General shall by Summons to a fit and qualified Person fill the Vacancy.

33. If any Question arises respecting the Qualification of a Senator or a Vacancy in the Senate, the same shall be heard and determined by the Senate.

Speaker of the Senate

34. The Governor-General may from Time to Time, by Instrument under the Great Seal of Canada, appoint a Senator to be Speaker of the Senate, and may remove him and appoint another in his Stead.

A meeting of the Senate

35. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the Presence of at least Fifteen Senators, including the Speaker, shall be necessary to consitute a Meeting of the Senate for the Exercise of its Powers.

Majority Decisions

36. Questions arising in the Senate shall be decided by a Majority of Voices, and the Speaker shall in all Cases have a Vote, and when the Voices are equal the Decision shall be deemed to be in the Negative.

The House of Commons.

37. *Provided for* 181 *Members of the House of Commons.*[2]

[2] Later (50-51 Vict. [Dom.], c. 4) the House consisted of 215 Members as follows:—Ontario, 92; Quebec, 65; Nova

Summoning the House of Commons

38. The Governor-General shall from Time to Time, in the Queen's Name, by Instrument under the Great Seal of Canada, summon and call together the House of Commons.

Senators in the House

39. A Senator shall not be capable of being elected or of sitting or voting as a Member of the House of Commons.

Electoral Districts

40. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick shall, for the Purposes of the Election of Members to serve in the House of Commons, be divided into Electoral Districts as follows:—

The Districts as arranged by the B. N. A. Act have since been altered. See R. S. C., c. 6, amended by 50-51 *Vict.* (*Dom.*), *c.* 4. *Each District returns one Member.*

41. *Provided that until the Parliament of Canada otherwise enacted, the Provincial laws relating*

Scotia, 21; New Brunswick, 16; Prince Edward Island, 6; British Columbia, 6; Manitoba, 5; North-West Territories, 4. After the next General Election, the number will be 213:—Ontario, 92; Quebec, 65; Nova Scotia, 20; New Brunswick, 14; Manitoba, 7; British Columbia, 6; Prince Edward Island, 5; North-West Territories, 4. 55-56 Vict. [Dom.], c. 117.

At the present time (1908) the following is the distribution of seats in House of Commons:

Ontario, 86; Quebec, 65; Nova Scotia, 18; New Brunswick, 13; Manitoba, 10; North-West Territories, 10; British Columbia, 7; Prince Edward Island, 4; Yukon Territory, 1. Total, 214.

In the next Parliament the House will have 221 members, the North-West Territories being given the additional seven, divided between the new Provinces thus:

Saskatchewan, 10; Alberta, 7. Total, 17.

R. M. COULTER, M.D., C.M.G.

Deputy Postmaster-General of Canada

to Elections and electoral matters generally should apply to Dominion Elections.[1]

42. *Related solely to first election for Dominion Parliament. Effete.*

43. *Related to filling of vacancies in representation before meeting of Parliament—now superseded.*

Election of Speaker

44. The House of Commons on its first assembling after a General Election shall proceed with all practical speed to elect one of its Members to be Speaker.

Vacancy in Speaker's office

45. In case of a Vacancy happening in the Office of Speaker by Death, Resignation, or otherwise, the House of Commons shall with all practicable speed proceed to elect another of its Members to be Speaker.

46. The Speaker shall preside at all Meetings of the House of Commons.

Provisional Speaker

47. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, in case of the Absence for any Reason of the Speaker from the Chair of the House of Commons for a Period of Forty-Eight consecutive Hours, the House may elect another of its Members to act as Speaker, and the Member so elected shall during the Continuance of such absence of the Speaker have and execute all the Powers, Privileges and Duties of Speaker.

A meeting of the House

48. The Presence of at least Twenty members of the House of Commons shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the House for the Exercise of its Powers; and for that purpose the Speaker shall be reckoned as a Member.

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[1] Now, by R. S. C., chapters 5, 8 and 9, and subsequent amending Acts, the Dominion has provided legislation for all these matters. This Section is, therefore, superseded.

Majority Decisions

49. Questions arising in the House of Commons shall be decided by a Majority of Voices other than that of the Speaker, and when the Voices are equal, but not otherwise, the Speaker shall have a Vote.

Term of office in the House

50. Every House of Commons shall continue for five years from the Day of the Return of the Writs for choosing the House (subject to be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General), and no longer.

Representation in each Province

51. On the Completion of the Census in the Year One thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and of each subsequent decennial Census, the Representation of the four Provinces shall be readjusted by such Authority, in such Manner, and from such Time, as the Parliament of Canada from Time to Time provides, subject and according to the following Rules:—

(1) Quebec shall have the fixed number of Sixty-five Members.

(2) There shall be assigned to each of the other Provinces such a number of Members as will bear the same Proportion to the Number of its Population (ascertained at such Census) as the Number Sixty-five bears to the Number of the Population of Quebec (so ascertained):

(3) In the Computation of the Number of Members for a Province a fractional Part not exceeding One Half of the whole Number requisite for entitling the Province to a Member shall be disregarded; but a fractional Part exceeding One Half of that Number shall be equivalent to the whole Number:

(4) On any such Re-adjustment the Number of Members for a Province shall not be reduced

unless the Proportion which the Number of the Population of the Province bore to the Number of the aggregate Population of Canada at the then last preceding Re-adjustment of the Number of Members for the Province is ascertained at the then last Census to be diminished by One Twentieth Part or upwards:

(5) Such Re-adjustment shall not take effect until the Termination of the then existing Parliament.

52. The Number of Members of the House of Commons may be from Time to Time increased by the Parliament of Canada, Provided the proportionate Representation of the Provinces prescribed by this Act is not thereby disturbed.[4]

Money Votes: Royal Assent

Revenue bills

53. Bills for appropriating any Part of the Public Revenue, or for imposing any Tax or Impost, shall originate in the House of Commons.

Authority of Governor-General for Bills

54. It shall not be lawful for the House of Commons to adopt or Pass any Vote, Resolution, Address or Bill for the Appropriation of any Part of the Public Revenue, or of any Tax or Impost, to any Purpose that has not been first recommended to that House by Message of the Governor-General in the Session in which such Vote, Resolution, Address or Bill is proposed.

[4] See Note to Sections 37 and 40 above. The readjustment referred to has been made and the result is stated at foot of 37.

Royal Assent or Dissent

55. Where a Bill passed by the House of Parliament is presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's Assent, he shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject to the Provisions of this Act and to Her Majesty's Instructions, either that he assents thereto in the Queen's Name, or that he withholds the Queen's Assent, or that he reserves the Bill for the Signification of the Queen's Pleasure.

Method of imparting Royal Dissent

56. Where the Governor-General assents to a Bill in the Queen's Name, he shall, by the first convenient Opportunity, send an authentic Copy of the Act to one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and if the Queen in Council within Two Years after Receipt thereof by the Secretary of State thinks fit to disallow the Act, such disallowance (with a Certificate of the Secretary of State of the Day on which the Act was received by him) being signified by the Governor-General, by Speech or Message to each of the Houses of the Parliament or by Proclamation, shall annul the Act from and after the Day of such Signification.

Bills reserved for Royal Pleasure

57. A Bill reserved for the Signification of the Queen's Pleasure shall not have any Force unless and until within Two Years from the Day on which it was presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's Assent, the Governor-General signifies, by Speech or Message to each of the Houses of the Parliament or by Proclamation, that it has received the Assent of the Queen in Council.

An Entry of every such Speech, Message, or Proclamation shall be made in the Journal of each House, and a Duplicate thereof duly attested shall be delivered to the proper Officer to be kept among the Records of Canada.

IV. Provincial Constitutions.

Executive Power.

Provincial Lieutenant-Governors

58. For each Province there shall be an Officer, styled the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General in Council by Instrument under the Great Seal of Canada.

Tenure of office by Lieutenant-Governors

59. A Lieutenant-Governor shall hold Office during the Pleasure of the Governor-General; but any Lieutenant-Governor appointed after the Commencement of the First Session of the Parliament of Canada shall not be removable within Five Years from his Appointment, except for Cause assigned, which shall be communicated to him in Writing within One Month after the Order for his Removal is made, and shall be communicated by Message to the Senate and to the House of Commons within One Week thereafter if the Parliament is then sitting, and if not then, within One Week after the Commencement of the next Session of the Parliament.

Provision for salaries

60. The Salaries of the Lieutenant-Governors shall be fixed and provided by the Parliament of Canada.

Oaths of Allegiance

61. Every Lieutenant-Governor shall, before assuming the Duties of his Office, make and subscribe before the Governor-General or some Person authorized by him, Oaths of Allegiance and Office similar to those taken by the Governor-General.

62. The Provisions of this Act referring to the Lieutenant-Governor extend and apply to the Lieutenant-Governor for the Time being of each

Province or other the Chief Executive Officer or Administrator for the Time being carrying on the Government of the Province, by whatever Title he is designated.

Councils of Quebec and Ontario

63. The Executive Council of Ontario and Quebec shall be composed of such Persons as the Lieutenant-Governor from Time to Time thinks fit, and in the first instance of the following Officers, namely,—the Attorney-General, the Secretary and Registrar of the Province, the Treasurer of the Province, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, within Quebec, the Speaker of the Legislative Council and the Solicitor-General.[8]

Executives of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

64. The Constitution of the Executive Authority in each of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall, subject to the Provisions of this Act, continue as it exists at the Union, until altered under the Authority of this Act.

Provincial Executive and Legislative Functions

65. All Powers, Authorities and functions which under any Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the Legislature of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, or Canada, were or are before, or at the Union vested in or exercisable by the respective Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of those Provinces, with the Advice, or with the Advice and Consent, of the Respective Executive Councils thereof, or in conjunction with those Councils, or with any Number of Members thereof, or by those Governors or Lieutenant-Governors individually, shall, as far as the same are capable of being exercised after the Union in relation to the Govern-

[8] As to Ontario, see R. S. O. 1887, c. 13.

ment of Ontario and Quebec respectively, be vested in, and shall or may be exercised by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and Quebec respectively, with the Advice or with the Advice and Consent of or in conjunction with the respective Executive Councils, or any Members thereof, or by the Lieutenant-Governor individually, as the Case requires, subject nevertheless (except with respect to such as exist under Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland) to be abolished or altered by the respective Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec.

Construing of provisions

66. The Provisions of this Act referring to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall be construed as referring to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province acting by and with the Advice of the Executive Council thereof.

Provincial Administrators

67. The Governor-General in Council may from Time to Time appoint an Administrator to execute the Office and Functions of Lieutenant-Governor during his Absence, Illness, or other Inability.

Provincial Seats of Government

68. Unless and until the Executive Government of any Province otherwise directs with respect to that Province, the Seats of Government of the Provinces shall be as follows, namely,—of Ontario, the City of Toronto; of Quebec, the City of Quebec; of Nova Scotia, the City of Halifax; and of New Brunswick, the City of Fredericton.

LEGISLATIVE POWER.

1. *Ontario.*

Legislative Assembly of Ontario

69. There shall be a Legislature for Ontario consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and of One House, styled the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

Members of the Assembly

70. The Legislative Assembly of Ontario shall be composed of Eighty-two Members, to be elected to represent the Eighty-two Electoral Districts set forth in the First Schedule to this Act.[6]

2. *Quebec.*

Legislative Council of Quebec

71. There shall be a Legislature for Quebec consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and of Two Houses, styled the Legislative Council of Quebec and the Legislative Assembly of Quebec.

Members of the Quebec Council

72. The Legislative Council of Quebec shall be composed of Twenty-Four Members, to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Queen's Name, by Instrument under the Great Seal of Quebec, one being appointed to represent each of the Twenty-Four Electoral Divisions of Lower Canada in this Act referred to, and each holding Office for the Term of his life, unless the Legislature of Quebec otherwise provides under the Provisions of this Act.

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[6] In Ontario there have been successive readjustments of the membership of the Legislative Assembly and a small increase in numbers.

Qualifications of Councillors

73. The Qualifications of the Legislative Councillors of Quebec shall be the same as those of the Senators for Quebec.

Vacancies in the Council

74. The Place of a Legislative Councillor of Quebec shall become vacant in the Cases, *mutatis mutandis,* in which the place of Senator becomes vacant.

Filling of Vacancies

75. When a Vacancy happens in the Legislative Council of Quebec by Resignation, Death, or otherwise, the Lieutenant-Governor in the Queen's Name, by Instrument under the Great Seal of Quebec, shall appoint a fit and qualified Person to fill the Vacancy.

Questions on Qualification

76. If any Question arises respecting the Qualification of a Legislative Councillor of Quebec, or a Vacancy in the Legislative Council of Quebec, the same shall be heard and determined by the Legislative Council.

Appointment of the Speaker

77. The Lieutenant-Governor may from Time to Time, by Instrument under the Great Seal of Quebec, appoint a Member of the Legislative Council of Quebec to be Speaker thereof, and may remove him and appoint another in his Stead.

Meeting of the Council

78. Until the Legislature of Quebec otherwise provides, the Presence of at least Ten Members of the Legislative Council, including the Speaker, shall be neessary to constitute a Meeting for the Exercise of its Powers.

Decisions by Majority

79. Questions arising in the Legislative Council of Quebec shall be decided by a Majority of Voices, and the Speaker shall in all cases have a Vote, and when the Voices are equal the Decision shall be deemed to be in the negative.

80. The Legislative Assembly of Quebec shall be composed of Sixty-five Members to be Elected to

Membership of the Legislative Assembly

represent the Sixty-five Electoral Divisions or Districts of Lower Canada in this Act referred to, subject to Alteration thereof by the Legislature of Quebec: Provided that it shall not be lawful to present to the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec for Assent any Bill for Altering the Limits of any of the Electoral Divisions or Districts mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act, unless the Second and Third Readings of such Bill have been passed in the Legislative Assembly with the Concurrence of the Majority of the Members representing all those Electoral Divisions or Districts, and the Assent shall not be given to such Bill unless an Address has been presented by the Legislative Assembly to the Lieutenant-Governor stating that it has been so passed.

3. *Ontario and Quebec.*

81. *Related to first meeting of Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec. Effete.*

Summoning the Assemblies

82. The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and of Quebec shall from Time to Time, in the Queen's Name, by Instrument under the Great Seal of the Province, summon and call together the Legislative Assembly of the Province.

Persons Ineligible to the Assembly

83. Until the Legislature of Ontario or of Quebec otherwise provides, a Person accepting or holding in Ontario or in Quebec any Office, Commission or Employment, permanent or temporary, at the Nomination of the Lieutenant-Governor, to which an annual Salary, or any Fee, Allowance, Emolument, or profit of any Kind or Amount whatever from the Province is attached, shall not be eligible

as a Member of the Legislative Assembly of the respective Province, nor shall he sit or vote as such; but nothing in this Section shall make ineligible any Person being a Member of the Executive Council of the respective Province, or holding any of the following offices, that is to say, the Offices of Attorney-General, Secretary and Registrar of the Province, Treasurer of the Province, Commissioner of Crown Lands, and Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, and in Quebec Solicitor-General, or shall disqualify him to sit or vote in the House for which he is elected, provided he is elected while holding such Office.[1]

Eligibility to other Offices

84. *Related to Electoral Matters in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Superseded in Ontario by R. S. O.* 1887, *chaps.* 9 *and* 10.

85. Every Legislative Assembly of Ontario and Every Legislative Assembly of Quebec shall continue for Four Years from the Day of the Return of the Writs for choosing the same (subject nevertheless to either the Legislative Assembly of Ontario or the Legislative Assembly of Quebec being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province), and no longer.

Terms of the Assemblies

86. There shall be a session of the Legislature of Ontario and of that of Quebec once at least in every Year, so that Twelve Months shall not intervene between the last Sitting of the Legislature in each Province in one Session and its first Sitting in the next Session.

Sessions of the Assemblies

87. The following Provisions of this Act re-

[1] Acts have been passed in Ontario to further secure the independence of the Legislature.

Parliamentary Regulations in the Assemblies

specting the House of Commons of Canada shall extend and apply to the Legislative Assemblies of Ontario and Quebec, that is to say,—the Provisions relating to the Election of a Speaker originally and on Vacancies, the Duties of the Speaker, the absence of the Speaker, the Quorum, and the mode of voting, as if those Provisions were here re-enacted and made applicable in Terms to each such Legislative Assembly.

4. *Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.*

Assemblies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

88. The Constitution of the Legislature of each of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall, subject to the Provisions of this Act, continue as it exists at the Union until altered under the Authority of this Act; and the House of Assembly of New Brunswick existing at the passing of this Act shall, unless sooner dissolved continue for the period for which it was elected.

5. *Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia.*

89. *Related to calling of the first Legislatures. Effete.*

6. *The Four Provinces.*

Dominion Laws Applicable to Provincial Assemblies

90. The following Provisions of this Act respecting the Parliament of Canada, namely,—the Provisions relating to Appropriation and Tax Bills, the Recommendation of Money Votes, the Assent to Bills, the Disallowance of Acts, and the Significa-

tion of Pleasure on Bills reserved,—shall extend and apply to the Legislatures of the several Provinces as if those Provisions were here re-enacted and made applicable in Terms to the respective Provinces and the Legislatures thereof, with the Substitution of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province for the Governor-General, of the Governor-General for the Queen and for a Secretary of State, of One Year for Two Years, and of the Province for Canada. Substitution

VI. Distribution of Legislative Powers.

Powers of the Parliament.

Matters Exclusively within Authority of the Dominion Parliament

91. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make Laws for the Peace, Order and good Government of Canada, in relation to all Matters not coming within the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces; and for greater Certainty, but not so as to restrict the Generality of the foregoing Terms of this Section, it is hereby declared that (notwithstanding anything in this Act) the exclusive Legislative Authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to all Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated, that is to say:—

1. The Public Debt and Property.
2. The Regulation of Trade and Commerce.
3. The raising of Money by any Mode or System of Taxation.
4. The borrowing of Money on the Public Credit.

5. Postal Service.
6. The Census and Statistics.

Military and Naval Service

7. Militia, Military and Naval Service, and Defense.
8. The fixing of and providing for the Salaries and Allowances of Civil and other Officers of the Government of Canada.
9. Beacons, Buoys, Lighthouses, and Sable Island.
10. Navigation and Shipping.
11. Quarantine and the Establishment and Maintenance of Marine Hospitals.
12. Sea Coast and Island Fisheries.
13. Ferries between a Province and any British or Foreign Country or between Two Provinces.
14. Currency and Coinage.

Banking, etc.

15. Banking, Incorporation of Banks, and the issue of Paper Money.
16. Savings Banks.
17. Weights and Measures.
18. Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.
19. Interest.
20. Legal Tender.
21. Bankruptcy and Insolvency.
22. Patents of Invention and Discovery.
23. Copyrights.
24. Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians.
25. Naturalization and Aliens.
26. Marriage and Divorce.
27. The Criminal Law, except the Constitution of Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction, but including the Procedure in Criminal Matters.
28. The Establishment, Maintenance, and Management of Penitentiaries.

29. Such Classes of Subjects as are expressly excepted in the Enumeration of the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces.

And any Matter coming within any of the Classes of Subjects enumerated in this Section shall not be deemed to come within the Class of Matters of a local or private Nature comprised in the Enumeration of the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislature of the Provinces.

Exclusive Powers of Provincial Legislatures.

92. In each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated, that is to say:— Matters Exclusively within Authority of Provincial Legislatures

1. The Amendment from Time to Time, notwithstanding anything in this Act, of the Constitution of the Province, except as regards the Office of Lieutenant-Governor.
2. Direct Taxation within the Province in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial Purposes.
3. The borrowing of Money on the sole Credit of the Province.
4. The Establishment and Tenure of Provincial Offices and the Appointment and Payment of Provincial Officers.
5. The Management and the Sale of the Public Lands belonging to the Province, and of the Timber and Wood thereon. Public Lands

Prisons and Charities

6. The Establishment, Maintenance, and Management of Public and Reformatory Prisons in and for the Province.

7. The Establishment, Maintenance, and Management of Hospitals, Asylums, Charities, and Eleemosynary Institutions in and for the Province, other than Marine Hospitals.

8. Municipal Institutions in the Province.

9. Shop, Saloon, Tavern, Auctioneer, and other Licences in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial, Local, or Municipal Purposes.

Local Works

10. Local Works and Undertakings other than such as are of the following Classes:—

a. Lines of Steam or other Ships, Railways, Canals, Telegraphs, and other Works and Undertakings connecting the Province with any other or others of the Provinces, or extending beyond the Limits of the Province:

b. Lines of Steam Ships between the Province and any British or Foreign Country.

c. Such Works as, although wholly situate within the Province, are before or after their Execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general Advantage of Two or more of the Provinces.

11. The Incorporation of Companies with Provincial Objects.

12. The Solemnization of Marriage in the Province.

13. Property and Civil Rights in the Province.

14. The Administration of Justice in the Province, including the Constitution, Maintenance and Organization of Provincial Courts, both of

Civil and of Criminal Jurisdiction, and including Procedure in Civil Matters in those Courts.

15. The Imposition of Punishment by Fine, Penalty, or Imprisonment for enforcing any Law of the Province made in relation to any Matter coming within any of the Classes of Subjects enumerated in the Section.

16. Generally all Matters of a merely local or private Nature in the Province.

Education.

Laws on Education

93. In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:—

Denominational Schools excepted

(1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union:

Rights of Denominational Schools

(2) All the Powers, Privileges and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec.

(3) Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by Law at the Union, or is thereafter established by the

Their Right of Appeal to Governor-General

Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education:

Their Right of Appeal to Dominion Parliament

(4) In case any such Provincial Law as from Time to Time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor-General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that Behalf, then and in every such Case, and as far only as the Circumstances of each Case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any Decision of the Governor-General in Council under this Section.

Uniformity of Laws in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Provision for uniformity of Laws in the Provinces

94. Notwithstanding anything in this Act, the Parliament of Canada may make Provision for the Uniformity of all or of any of the Laws relative to Property and Civil Rights in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and of the Procedure of all or any of the Courts in those Three Provinces, and from and after the passing of any Act in that

Behalf the Power of the Parliament of Canada to make Laws in relation to any Matter comprised in any such Act shall, notwithstanding anything in this Act, be unrestricted; but any Act of the Parliament of Canada making Provision for each Uniformity shall not have effect in any Province unless and until it is adopted and enacted as Law by the Legislature thereof.

Agriculture and Immigration.

Provincial Laws on Agriculture and Immigration

95. In each Province the Legislature may make Laws in relation to Agriculture in the Province, and to Immigration into the Province; and it is hereby declared that the Parliament of Canada may from Time to Time make Laws in relation to Agriculture in all or any of the Provinces, and to Immigration into all or any of the Provinces; and any Law of the Legislature of a Province relative to Agriculture or to Immigration shall have effect in and for the Province as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of the Parliament of Canada.

VII. JUDICATURE.

Appointment of Judges

96. The Governor-General shall appoint the Judges of the Superior, District, and County Courts in each Province, except those of the Courts of Probate in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Judges from Provincial Bars

97. Until the Laws relative to Property and Civil Rights in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Procedure of the Courts in those Provinces, are made uniform, the Judges of the

Courts of those Provinces appointed by the Governor-General shall be selected from the respective Bars of those Provinces.

98. The Judges of the Courts of Quebec shall be selected from the Bar of that Province.

Tenure of Office

99. The Judges of the Superior Courts shall hold office during good Behavior, but shall be removable by the Governor-General on Address of the Senate and House of Commons.

Salaries of Judges

100. The Salaries, Allowances, and Pensions of the Judges of the Superior, District, and County Courts (except the Courts of Probate in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), and of the Admiralty Courts in Cases where the Judges thereof are for the Time being paid by Salary, shall be fixed and provided by the Parliament of Canada.[a]

Court of Appeal

101. The Parliament of Canada may, notwithstanding anything in this Act, from Time to Time, provide for the Constitution, Maintenance, and Organization of a General Court of Appeal for Canada, and for the Establishment of any additional Courts for the better administration of the Laws of Canada.

VIII. Revenues; Debts; Assets; Taxation.

The Consolidated Revenue Fund

102. All Duties and Revenues over which the respective Legislatures of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick before and at the Union had and have Power of Appropriation, except such Portions

[a] See as to Salaries of Judges of Provincial Court, R. S. C., c. 138. As to General Court of Appeal for Canada, see R. S. C., c. 135. As to Exchequer Court, see 50-51 Vict. (Dom.), c. 16.

thereof as are by this Act reserved to the respective Legislatures of the Provinces, or are raised by them in accordance with the special Powers conferred on them by this Act, shall form One Consolidated Revenue Fund, to be appropriated for the Public Service of Canada in the Manner and subject to the Charges in this Act provided.

Charges against the Fund

103. The Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada shall be permanently charged with the Costs, Charges, and Expenses incident to the Collection, Management, and Receipt thereof, and the same shall form the First Charge thereon, subject to be reviewed and audited in such Manner as shall be ordered by the Governor-General in Council until the Parliament otherwise provides.

Interest on the Public Debt

104. The annual interest of the Public Debts of the several Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick at the Union shall form the Second Charge on the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

Salary of the Governor-General

105. Unless altered by the Parliament of Canada, the Salary of the Governor-General shall be Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling Money of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, payable out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada, and the same shall form the Third Charge thereon.

Appropriations by Parliament

106. Subject to the several payments by this Act, charged on the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada, the same shall be appropriated by the Parliament of Canada for the Public Service.[9]

Provincial Funds at the Date of Union

107. All Stocks, Cash, Banker's Balances, and Securities for Money belonging to each Province at the Time of the Union, except as in this Act men-

[9] As to Consolidated Revenue Fund, see R. S. C., c. 29.

tioned, shall be the Property of Canada, and shall be taken in Reduction of the amount of the respective Debts of the Provinces of the Union.

Provincial Public Works

108. The Public Works and Property of each Province, enumerated in the Third Schedule to this Act, shall be the Property of Canada.

Provincial Lands, Mines, etc.

109. All Lands, Mines, Minerals, and Royalties belonging to the several Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick at the Union, and all Sums then due or payable for such Lands, Mines, Minerals, or Royalties, shall belong to the several Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in which the same are situate or arise, subject to any Trusts existing in respect thereof, and to any interest other than that of the Province in the same.

Assets and Public Debt

110. All Assets connected with such Portions of the Public Debt of each Province as are assumed by that Province shall belong to that Province.

Liability for Debts

111. Canada shall be liable for the Debts and Liabilities of each Province existing at the Union.

Liability of Ontario and Quebec

112. Ontario and Quebec conjointly shall be liable to Canada for the Amount (if any) by which the Debt of the Province of Canada exceeds at the Union Sixty-two million five hundred thousand Dollars, and shall be charged with interest at the Rate of Five per Centum per Annum thereon.

Property of Ontario and Quebec

113. The Assets enumerated in the Fourth Schedule to this Act belonging at the Union to the Province of Canada shall be the Property of Ontario and Quebec conjointly.

114. Nova Scotia shall be liable to Canada for

the Amount (if any) by which its Public Debt exceeds at the Union Eight million Dollars, and shall be charged with Interest at the Rate of Five per Centum per Annum thereon. Liability of Nova Scotia

115. New Brunswick shall be liable to Canada for the Amount (if any) by which its Public Debt exceeds at the Union Seven million Dollars, and shall be charged with Interest at the Rate of Five per Centum per Annum thereon. Liability of New Brunswick

116. In case the Public Debts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick do not at the Union amount to Eight million and Seven million Dollars respectively, they shall respectively receive by half-yearly Payments in advance from the Government of Canada interest at Five per Centum per Annum on the Difference between the actual Amounts of their respective Debts and such stipulated Amounts.[10] Payments to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

117. The several Provinces shall retain all their respective Public Property not otherwise disposed of in this Act, subject to that Right of Canada to assume any Lands or Public Property required for Fortifications or for the Defense of the Country. Provincial Public Property

118. The following Sums shall be paid yearly by Canada to the several Provinces for the Support of their Government and Legislatures: Sums Annually Payable to Provinces

Ontario.....Eighty thousand Dollars.
Quebec.....Seventy thousand Dollars.
Nova Scotia.....Sixty thousand Dollars.
New Brunswick....Fifty thousand Dollars.

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[10] In addition to the $77,500,000 provided for in sections 112, 114, and 115, the Dominion has since Confederation assumed nearly $50,000,000 on account of the Provinces.

Per Capita Subsidy

Two hundred and sixty thousand; and an annual Grant in aid of each Province shall be made, equal to Eighty Cents per Head of the Population as ascertained by the Census of One Thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and in the case of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by each subsequent Decennial Census until the Population of each of those two Provinces amounts to Four hundred thousand Souls, at which Rate such Grant shall thereafter remain. Such Grants shall be in full Settlement of all future Demands on Canada, and shall be paid half-yearly in advance to each Province; but the Government of Canada shall deduct from such grants, as against any Province, all Sums chargeable as Interest on the Public Debt of that Province in excess of the several Amounts stipulated in this Act.[11]

Terms of Payment

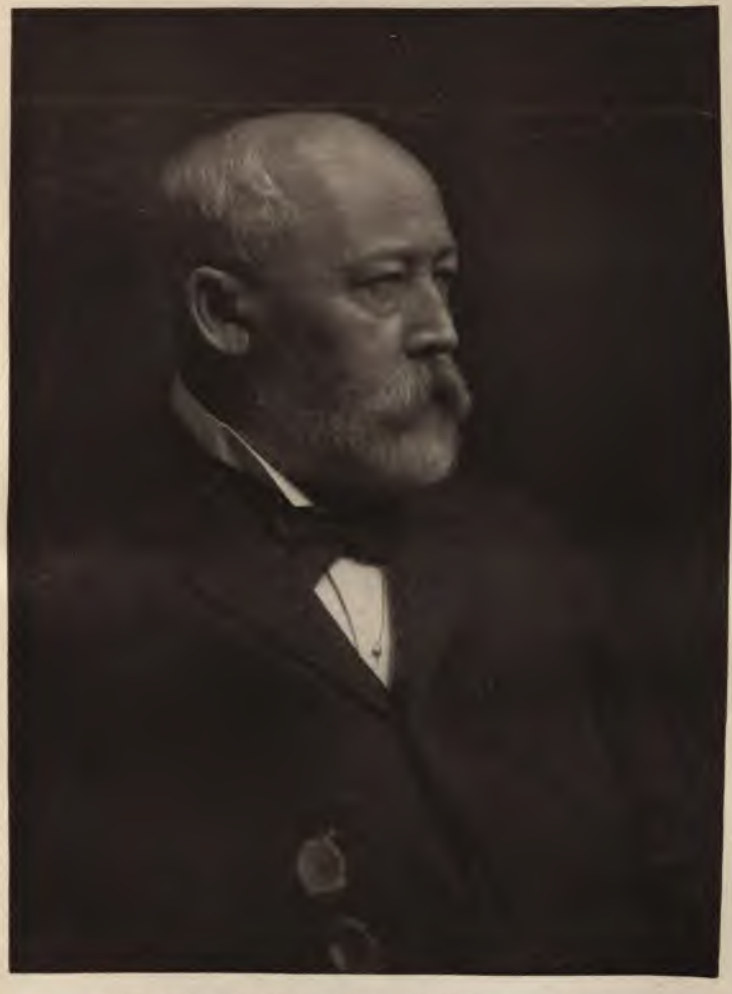
Subsidy to New Brunswick

119. New Brunswick shall receive by half-yearly Payments in advance from Canada for the Period of Ten Years from the Union, an Additional Allowance of Sixty-three thousand Dollars per Annum; but as long as the Public Debt of that Province remains under Seven million Dollars, a Deduction equal to the Interest at Five per Centum per Annum on such Deficiency shall be made from that Allowance of Sixty-three thousand Dollars.

Forms of Payment

120. All Payments to be made under this Act, or in discharge of Liabilities created under any Act of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick respectively and assumed by Canada, shall, until the Parliament of Canada otherwise di-

[11]The Provincial subsidies were revised last year (1907) when the Imperial Parliament amended the B. N. A. Act to that end at the request of the Canadian Dominion and Provinces. The subsidies are



SIR WILLIAM C. VAN HORNE, K.C.M.G.

rects, be made in such Form and Manner as may from Time to Time be ordered by the Governor-General in Council.[11]

121. All Articles of the Growth, Produce or Manufacture of any one of the Provinces shall, from Trade between Provinces

composed partly of a per capita payment and partly of a lump sum, which also varies with the increase of population.

A—The per capita payment is at the rate of 80 cents per head till the population of a Province reaches 2,500,000; after that at 60 cents per head; to be recalculated after each decennial census.

B—The lump sums are on the following basis:

(*a*) Where the population of a Province is under 150,000..$100,000
(*b*) Where the population exceeds 150,000, but does not reach 200,000..... 150,000
(*c*) From 200,000 to 400,000 population..... 180,000
(*d*) From 400,000 to 800,000 population..... 190,000
(*e*) From 800,000 to 1,500,000 population..... 220,000
(*f*) Over 1,500,000 population..... 240,000

Subsidy "A" is in the act called an "annual grant per head"; Subsidy "B" is described as "the sums payable yearly by Canada to the several Provinces for the support of their Governments and Legislatures."

In addition, British Columbia gets a special grant of $100,000 per annum for ten years.

Additional grants are also made to Saskatchewan and Alberta in lieu (1) of the Dominion retaining control of lands.

(*a*) Population being 250,000 to 400,000..... $375,000
(*b*) Population being 400,000 to 800,000..... 562,500
(*c*) Population being 800,000 to 1,200,000..... 750,000
(*d*) Population being over 1,200,000..... 1,125,000

(2) In lieu of debt.....$405,375
(3) As additional in lieu of public lands for five years to provide for public buildings..... 93,570

There were also special arrangements with the older Provinces regarding debt, a special grant to New Brunswick, and special arrangements with Manitoba regarding lands.

The difference in the payments under the old and new agreements, on a half-yearly basis, is shown in annexed table:

Half-yearly grants under old arrangement		Half-yearly grants under new arrangement
$669,643.64	Ontario	$1,064,386.04
543,356.74	Quebec	843,289.54
245,680.48	New Brunswick	310,680.48
216,402.18	Nova Scotia	305,232.38
125,525.99	Prince Edward Island	160,525.99
310,748.73	Manitoba	375,748.73
565,167.70	Saskatchewan	630,167.70
562,062.50	Alberta	627,062.50
153,538.33	British Columbia	261,038.33

[11] See Note 11, page 1132

and after the Union, be admitted free into each of the other Provinces.

Customs and Excise Laws

122. The Customs and Excise Laws of each Province shall, subject to the Provisions of this Act, continue in force until altered by the Parliament of Canada.[13]

Customs Duties Payable

123. Where Customs Duties are, at the Union, leviable on any Goods, Wares, or Merchandises in any two Provinces, those Goods, Wares, and Merchandises may, from and after the Union, be imported from one of those Provinces into the other of them on Proof of Payment of the Customs Duty leviable thereon in the Province of Exportation and on Payment of such further Amount (if any) of Customs Duty as is leviable thereon in the Province of Importation.

New Brunswick Lumber Dues

124. Nothing in this Act shall affect the Right of New Brunswick to levy the Lumber Dues provided in Chapter Fifteen of Title Three of the Revised Statutes of New Brunswick, or in any Act amending that Act before or after the Union, and not increasing the Amount of such Dues; but the Lumber of any of the Provinces other than New Brunswick shall not be subject to such Dues.[14]

Public Lands Untaxable

125. No Lands or Property belonging to Canada or any Province shall be liable to Taxation.

126. Such Portions of the Duties and Revenues over which the respective Legislatures of Canada,

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[13] These matters have been legislated upon by the Dominion. See R. S. C., chaps. 32, 33, 34.

[14] New Brunswick having surrendered these lumber dues, the Dominion pays that Province $150,000 a year additional.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had before the Union Power of Appropriation as are by this Act reserved to the respective Governments or Legislatures of the Provinces, and all Duties and Revenues raised by them in accordance with the special Powers conferred upon them by this Act, shall in each Province form One Consolidated Revenue Fund to be appropriated for the Public Service of the Province. Consolidated Revenue Fund

IX. Miscellaneous Provisions.

General.

127. If any Person being at the passing of this Act a Member of the Legislative Council of Canada, Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, to whom a Place in the Senate is offered, does not within Thirty Days thereafter, by Writing under his Hand addressed to the Governor-General of the Province of Canada, to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick (as the case may be), accept the same, he shall be deemed to have declined the same; and any Person who, being, at the passing of this Act, a Member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, accepts a Place in the Senate shall thereby vacate his Seat in such Legislative Council. Acceptance or Declination of Senators

128. Every Member of the Senate or House of Commons of Canada shall, before taking his seat therein, take and subscribe before the Governor-General or some Person authorized by him, and every Member of a Legislative Council or Legislative Assembly of any Province shall, before taking Oath of Allegiance and Declaration

his Seat therein, take and subscribe before the Lieutenant-Governor of the Povince or some Person authorized by him, the Oath of Allegiance contained in the Fifth Schedule to this Act; and every Member of the Senate of Canada and every Member of the Legislative Council of Quebec shall also, before taking his Seat therein, take and subscribe before the Governor-General, or some Person authorized by him, the Declaration of Qualification contained in the same Schedule.

Existing Provincial Laws

129. Except as otherwise provided by this Act, all Laws in force in Canada, Nova Scotia or New Brunswick at the Union, and all Courts of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, and all legal Commissions, Powers and Authorities, and all Offices, Judicial, Administrative, and Ministerial, existing therein at the Union, shall continue in Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick respectively, as if the Union had not been made; subject nevertheless (except with respect to such as are enacted by or exist under Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland), to be repealed, abolished, or altered by the Parliament of Canada, or by the Legislature of the respective Province according to the Authority of the Parliament or of that Legislature under this Act.

Provincial Officers under the Dominion

130. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, all Officers of the several Provinces having Duties to discharge in relation to Matters other than those coming within the classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces shall be Officers of Canada, and shall continue to discharge the Duties of their respective

Offices under the same Liabilities, Responsibilities, and Penalties as if the Union had not been made.

Special Officers appointed

131. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the Governor-General in Council may from Time to Time appoint such Officers as the Governor-General in Council deems necessary or proper for the effectual Execution of this Act.

Powers of Parliament

132. The Parliament and Government of Canada shall have all Powers necessary or proper for performing the Obligations of Canada or of any Province thereof, as Part of the British Empire, towards Foreign Countries, arising under Treaties between the Empire and such Foreign Countries.

English or French Language Official

133. Either the English or the French Language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec.

The acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages.

Ontario and Quebec

Officers appointed in Ontario and Quebec

134. Until the Legislature of Ontario or of Quebec otherwise provides, the Lieutenant-Governors of Ontario and Quebec may each appoint, under the Great Seal of the Province, the following Officers,

to hold Office during Pleasure, that is to say,—the Attorney-General, the Secretary and Registrar of the Province, the Treasurer of the Province, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, and, in the Case of Quebec, the Solicitor-General; and may, by Order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, from Time to Time prescribe the Duties of those Officers and of the several Departments over which they shall preside or to which they shall belong, and of the Officers and Clerks thereof; and may also appoint other and additional Officers to hold Office during Pleasure, and may from Time to Time prescribe the Duties of those Officers, and of the several Departments over which they shall preside or to which they shall belong, and of the Officers and Clerks thereof.[18]

Duties of Officers in Ontario and Quebec

135. Until the Legislature of Ontario or Quebec otherwise provides, all Rights, Powers, Duties, Functions, Responsibilities, or Authorities at the passing of this Act vested in or imposed on the Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Secretary and Registrar of the Province of Canada, Minister of Finance, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Commissioner of Public Works, and Minister of Agriculture and Receiver-General, by any Law, Statute or Ordinance of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, or Canada, and not repugnant to this Act, shall be vested in or imposed on any Officer to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor for the Discharge of the same or any of them; and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works shall perform the Duties and Functions of the Office of Minister of

[18] The Ontario Civil Service Act is R. S. O., 1887, c. 14.

Agriculture at the passing of this Act imposed by the Law of the Province of Canada, as well as those of the Commissioner of Public Works.

136. *Related to use of Great Seals of Upper and Lower Canada, Ontario and Quebec temporarily. Effete.*

137. *Related to use of words "next Session" as applied to Acts current at time of Union. Effete.*

Upper and Lower Canadas

138. From and after the Union the Use of the Words "Upper Canada" instead of "Ontario," or "Lower Canada" instead of "Quebec," in any Deed, Writ, Process, Pleading, Document, Matter, or Thing, shall not invalidate the same.

Proclamations issued before Union

139. Any Proclamation under the Great Seal of the Province of Canada issued before the Union to take effect at a Time which is subsequent to the Union, whether relating to that Province or to Upper Canada, or to Lower Canada, and the several Matters and Things therein proclaimed shall be and continue of like Force and Effect as if the Union had not been made.

Proclamations issued after Union

140. Any Proclamation which is authorized by any Act of the Legislature of the Province of Canada to be issued under the Great Seal of the Province of Canada, whether relating to that Province, or to Upper Canada, or to Lower Canada, and which is not issued before the Union, may be issued by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario or of Quebec, as its Subject Matter requires, under the Great Seal thereof; and from, and after the Issue of such Proclamation, the same and the several Matters and Things therein proclaimed shall be and continue of the like Force and Effect in Ontario or Quebec as if the Union had not been made.

141. *Related to Penitentiary of old Province of Canada. See now R. S. C., c.* 182.

Finances of Upper and Lower Canadas

142. The Division and Adjustment of the Debts, Credits, Liabilities, Properties and Assets of Upper Canada and Lower Canada shall be referred to the Arbitrament of Three Arbitrators, One chosen by the Government of Ontario, One by the Government of Quebec, and One by the Government of Canada; and the Selection of the Arbitrators shall not be made until the Parliament of Canada and the Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec have met: and the Arbitrator chosen by the Government of Canada shall not be a Resident either in Ontario or in Quebec.

Records and Documents of the Canadas

143. The Governor-General in Council may from Time to Time order that such and so many of the Records, Books and Documents of the Province of Canada as he thinks fit shall be appropriated and delivered either to Ontario or to Quebec, and the same shall thenceforth be the Property of that Province; and any Copy thereof or Extract therefrom, duly certified by the Officer having charge of the Original thereof, shall be admitted as Evidence.

New Townships in Quebec

144. The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec may from Time to Time, by Proclamation under the Great Seal of the Province, to take effect from a day to be appointed therein, constitute Townships in those Parts of the Province of Quebec in which Townships are not then already constituted, and fix the Metes and Bounds thereof.

X. Intercolonial Railway

145. *Related to building of Intercolonial Rail-*

way. The Railway was built as required. The section is therefore effete.

XI. Admission of Other Colonies

Terms of admitting New Provinces

146. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, on Addresses from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, and from the Houses of the respective Legislatures of the Colonies or Provinces, of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia, to admit those Colonies or Provinces, or any of them, into the Union, and on Address from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, or either of them, into the Union, on such Terms and Conditions in each Case as are in the Addresses expressed and as the Queen thinks fit to approve, subject to the Provisions of this Act; and the Provisions of any Order in Council in that Behalf shall have effect as if they had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.[18]

Representation for Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick

147. In case of the Admission of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, or either of them, each shall be entitled to a Representation in the Senate of Canada of Four Members, and (notwithstanding anything in this Act) in case of the admission of

[18] Under the authority conferred by this section the following Provinces have been admitted to the Dominion:—
Manitoba and North-West Territories, 15th July, 1870.
British Columbia, July 20, 1871. Saskatchewan, Sept. 1, 1905.
Prince Edward Island, July 1, 1873. Alberta, Sept. 1, 1905.

Newfoundland, the normal Number of Senators shall be Seventy-six and their maximum Number shall be Eighty-two; but Prince Edward Island when admitted shall be deemed to be comprised in the third of the Three Divisions into which Canada is, in relation to the Constituton of the Senate, divided by this Act, and accordingly, after the Admission of Prince Edward Island, whether Newfoundland is admitted or not, the Representation of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the Senate shall, as Vacancies occur, be reduced from Twelve to Ten Members, respectively, and the Representation of each of those Provinces shall not be increased at any Time beyond Ten, except under the Provisions of this Act for the Appointment of Three or Six additional Senators under the Direction of the Queen."[17]

Representation reduced

SCHEDULES.

The First Schedule and the Second Schedule related to the original Electoral Divisions, which have since been altered from time to time as provided for in Section 51 of the Act.

THE THIRD SCHEDULE.

Provincial Public Works and Property to be the Property of Canada.

Canals, etc. 1. Canals, with Lands and Water Power connected therewith.

[17] See note to Section 22 above.

Dominion Public Works

2. Public Harbors.
3. Lighthouses and Piers, and Sable Island.
4. Steamboats, Dredges, and public Vessels.
5. Rivers and Lake Improvements.
6. Railways and Railway Stocks, Mortgages, and other Debts due by Railway Companies.
7. Military Roads.
8. Custom Houses, Post-Offices, and all other Public Buildings, except such as the Government of Canada appropriate for the Use of the Provincial Legislatures and Governments.
9. Property transferred by the Imperial Government, and known as Ordinance Property.
10. Armories, Drill Sheds, Military Clothing, and Munitions of War, and Lands set apart for General Public Purposes.

THE FOURTH SCHEDULE.

Assets to be Property of Ontario and Quebec conjointly.

Provincial Assets of Ontario and Quebec

Upper Canada Building Fund.
Lunatic Asylum.
Normal School.
Court Houses, in Aylmer. Montreal. Kamouraska. } Lower Canada.
Law Society, Upper Canada.
Montreal Turnpike Trust.
University Permanent Fund.

Royal Institution.
Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund, Upper Canada.
Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund, Lower Canada.
Agricultural Society, Upper Canada.
Lower Canada Legislative Grant.
Quebec Fire Loan.
Temiscouata Advance Account.
Quebec Turnpike Trust.
Education—East.
Building and Jury Fund, Lower Canada.
Municipalities Fund.
Lower Canada Superior Education Income Fund.

THE FIFTH SCHEDULE.

Oath of Allegiance.

Oath of Allegiance to British Crown

I, *A. B.*, do swear, That I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Note.—The Name of the King or Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the Time being is to be substituted from Time to Time, with proper Terms of Reference thereto.

Declaration of Qualification.

Declaration of Qualification for Senators

I, *A. B.*, do declare and testify, That I am by Law duly qualified to be appointed a Member of the Senate of Canada [*or as the Case may be*], and that I am legally or equitably seized as of Freehold for my

own Use and Benefit of Lands and Tenements held in Free and Common Socage [*or* seized or possessed for my own Use and Benefit of Lands or Tenements held in Franc aleu or in Roture (*as the Case may be*)], in the Province of Nova Scotia [*or as the Case may be*], of the Value of Four Thousand Dollars over and above all Rents, Dues, Debts, Mortgages, Charges, and Incumbrances due or payable out of or charged on or affecting the same, and that I have not collusively or colorably obtained a Title to or become possessed of the said Lands and Tenements or any Part thereof for the Purpose of enabling me to become a Member of the Senate of Canada [*or as the Case may be*], and that my Real and Personal Property are together worth Four thousand Dollars over and above my Debts and Liabilities.

APPENDIX C.

An Act respecting the establishment of Provinces in the Dominion of Canada.

Imperial Act, 34 and 35 Vict., c. 28.

29th June, 1871.

Admission of New Provinces

WHEREAS doubts have been entertained respecting the powers of the Parliament of Canada to establish Provinces in Territories admitted, or which may be hereafter admitted into the Dominion of Canada, and to provide for the representation of such Provinces in the said Parliament, and it is expedient to remove such doubts, and to vest such powers in the said Parliament:—

Be it enacted, by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows: —

B.N.A.A., 1871

1. This Act may be cited for all purposes as "The British North America Act, 1871."

New Provinces in the Territories

2. The Parliament of Canada may, from time to time, establish new Provinces in any Territories forming for the time being part of the Dominion of Canada, but not included in any Province thereof, and may, at the time of such establishment, make provision for the constitution and administration of any Province, and for the passing of laws for the peace, order and good government of such Province, and for its representation in the said Parliament.

Fixing the Limits of New Provinces

3. The Parliament of Canada may, from Time to Time, with the consent of the Legislature of any Province of the said Dominion, increase, diminish or otherwise alter the limits of such Province, upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed to by the said Legislature, and may, with the like consent, make provision respecting the effect and operation of any such increase or diminution or alteration of Territory in relation to any Province affected thereby.

Government of the Territories

4. The Parliament of Canada may, from time to time, make provision for the administration, peace, order and good government of any Territory not for the time being included in any Province.

North-West Territory and Manitoba

5. The following Acts passed by the said Parliament of Canada, and intituled respectively: "An "Act for the temporary government of Rupert's "Land and the North-Western Territory when

"united with Canada," and "An Act to amend and "continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, chapter 3, "and to establish and provide for the Government "of the Province of Manitoba," shall be and be deemed to have been valid and effectual for all purposes whatsoever from the date at which they respectively received the assent, in the Queen's name, of the Governor-General of the said Dominion of Canada.

Powers of Manitoba Legislature

6. Except as provided by the third Section of this Act, it shall not be competent for the Parliament of Canada to alter the provisions of the last mentioned Act of the said Parliament, in so far as it relates to the Province of Manitoba, or of any other Act hereafter establishing new Provinces in the said Dominion, subject always to the right of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba to alter from time to time the provisions of any law respecting the qualifications of Electors and members of the Legislative Assembly, and to make laws respecting elections in the same Province.

APPENDIX D.

Object of Act

An Act to remove certain doubts with respect to the powers of the Parliament of Canada, under Section 18 of the British North America Act, 1867.

Imperial Act, 38 and 39 Vict., c. 38.

19th July, 1875.

WHEREAS, by section eighteen of the British North America Act, 1867, it is provided as follows:—

Dominion and Imperial Parliaments

"The privileges, immunities and powers to be "held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and by "the House of Commons, and by the members "thereof respectively, shall be such as are from time "to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Can-"ada, but so that the same shall never exceed those "at the passing of this Act, held, enjoyed and "exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, "and by the members thereof."

And, whereas doubts have arisen with regard to the power of defining by an Act of the Parliament of Canada, in pursuance of the said section, the said privileges, powers or immunities; and it is expedient to remove such doubts:—

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

Repeal of Section 18, B.N.A.A., 1867

1. Section eighteen of the British North America Act, 1867, is hereby repealed, without prejudice to anything done under that Section, and the following section shall be substituted for the Section so repealed:

Privileges and Powers of Senate and Commons

The privileges, immunities, and powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and by the House of Commons, and by the members thereof respectively, shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Canada, but so that any Act of the Parliament of Canada defining such privileges, immunities and powers shall not confer any privileges, immunities or powers exceeding those at the passing of such Act held, enjoyed and

exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and by the members thereof.

Oaths to Witnesses Required

2. The Act of the Parliament of Canada, passed in the thirty-first year of the Reign of Her present Majesty, Chapter twenty-four, intituled: "An Act to "provide for oaths to witnesses 'being administered "in certain cases for the purposes of either House of Parliament,' " shall be deemed to be valid, and to have been valid as from the date at which the Royal assent was given thereto by the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada.

Act of 1875

3. This Act may be cited as "the Parliament of Canada Act, 1875."

APPENDIX E.

Representation for the Territories

An Act respecting the Representatives in the Parliament of Canada of Territories which for the time being form part of the Dominion of Canada, but are not included in any Province.

Imperial Act.

25th June, 1886.

WHEREAS it is expedient to empower the Parliament of Canada to provide for the representation in the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, or either of them, of any Territory which for the time being forms part of the Dominion of Canada, but is not included in any Province.

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent

of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

Provision to be made by Parliament

1. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time make provision for the representation in the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, or in either of them, of any Territories which for the time being form part of the Dominion of Canada, but are not included in any Province thereof.

Previous Parliamentary Acts

2. Any Act passed by the Parliament of Canada before the passing of this Act for the purpose mentioned in this Act shall, if not disallowed by the Queen, be, and shall be deemed to have been, valid and effectual from the date at which it received the assent, in Her Majesty's name, of the Governor-General of Canada.

It is hereby declared that any Act passed by the Parliament of Canada, whether before or after the passing of this Act, for the purpose mentioned in this Act or in the British North America Act, 1871, has effect, notwithstanding anything in the British North America Act, 1867, and the number of Senators or the number of members of the House of Commons specified in the last mentioned Act is increased by the number of Senators or of members, as the case may be, provided by any such Act of the Parliament of Canada for the representation of any Provinces or Territories of Canada.

3. This Act may be cited as "The British North America Act, 1886."

B.N.A.A., 1886

This Act and the British North America Act, 1867, and the British North America Act, 1871, shall be construed together and may be cited together as "The British North America Acts, 1867 to 1886."

INDEX

Abbott, Sir J. J. C., Premier, 1005
Abenaki Indians, 125, 286
Abercrombie, Gen. James, advance of, 479, 480
— army of, demoralized, 478
— arrival in colony, 441
— compared to Amherst, 514
— compared to Byng, 482
— incompetency of, 482
— losses at Ticonderoga, 482
— panic of, 484
— selected to capture Ticonderoga, 461
Aberdeen, Earl of, retires from Governor-Generalship, 1025
— summons Greenway and Sifton to confer, 1010
Acadia, Act of Expulsion, 398
— becomes English, 339
— ceded back to France, 1632, 133
— conflict of grants of De Monts and De Chastes in, 43
— expedition against from Massachusetts, 327
— grant of land to De Monts in, 43
— meaning of name, 43
— neglect of by England, 343
— restored to France, 142
— rival lords of, 133
— settlement of, 124
— warfare in, 306
— a weak spot, 321
Acadian Expulsion not Great Britain's act, 404
— memorial to Governor Lawrence, text of, 391-393
Acadians, asked for relief by French fleet, 379
— bad treatment of in American cities, 401
— deportation inhuman, 402
— exile of, 383
— demand return of fire-arms, 391
— deportation of, 398-399
— direct cause of deportation of, 391
— number deported, 400
— prosperous in Louisiana, 401
— refuse to take oath of allegiance, 394
— scenes at embarkation of, 400
— simple life among, 403
— sufferings of, 401
Accau, accompanies Hennepin, 226
— remains in Sioux village, 228
Adams, Henry, History of the United States, 732
Adams, John Quincy, American peace envoy, 773
Adams, Dr. William, English peace commissioner, 774
Adet, French Minister to the United States, 682
Africa, West Coast of, 17
Agriata, Mohawk chief, hanged for killing Chasy, 168
Aigron, Captain, 245
Ailleboust, D', 145
"Aimable," ship in La Salle's expedition, 244
— runs aground, 245
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, 381
Alabama claims, subject considered at Joint High Commission, 960
"Alabama" cruiser, 960
Alaska Boundary, 1037-1045
— rival contentions on, 1037
— tribunal, American members not impartial jurists, 1040
— tribunal, Americans win decision, 1043
— tribunal, decision on announced, 1043
Albany, a Robbers' Roost, 219
— Dutch and English at, 94
Alberta, district of, 980
— capital fixed at Edmonton, 1070
Alexander, Sir William, 133
— and Knights Baronets, 130
— grant to, 131
Alexandria, Va., 419
Algonquins, 42, 106, 155
— take refuge in fort at Montreal, 86
Alien Act, passed by third Legislature, 676
Allegheny River, descent of by Celoron de Bienville, 408
Allan, Sir Hugh, 964, 969
— made president of Canadian Pacific Railway, 965
— witness before Royal Commission, 967
Allen, Colonel Ethan, 588
— and negotiations for transferring Vermont to British control, 641
— captured and sent to England, 592
Allen, Ira, corresponds with Haldimand concerning annexation of Vermont, 642
— captured on board the "Olive Branch," 683
Allouez, Father, 177
Alverstone, Lord, British Commissioner Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1041

INDEX

Alverstone, Lord, elected chairman Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1043
— the target for criticism, 1044
Ameda, cure for scurvy, 32
America, 15, 16
—discovery of, 13
—believed to be India, 16, 17
American, aborigines, beautiful imagery of, 188
— Civil War, precursors of, 909
— colonists want peace, 344
— colonization by France, first lesson in, 22
— immigration forbidden, 819
— militia lose courage, 709
— Peace Commissioners far abler men than British, 775
— prisoners massacred by Indians, 726
— retreat to Plattsburg, 736
— Revolution, real causes of, 584
Americans defeat British at Saratoga, 623
— fail to take any important posts in Canada, 778
— in Canada, number of, 1076
— retreats of, 599, 740
Amerigo Vespucci, 20
Amherst, Jeffrey, Lord, builds fort at Crown Point, 515
— checked, 514
— huge force of, at Louisbourg, 466
— leads attack on Louisbourg, 461
Anbrot, Thomas, 21
Andostes, Indian tribe, 118
Anderson, C. P., American Counsel, Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1042
— fugitive slave, 909, 910
Andros, Sir Edmund, succeeds Dongan, 275
— more aggressive than Dongan, 275
Annabstaba, 155
Annapolis, 433
— Bay, 44
— disputed territory around, 343
— resists the French, 1744, 357
— Royal, 333
Anse-au-Foulon, landing place of Wolfe's troops, for storming heights of Quebec, 522
Anse des Meres, where part of Wolfe's forces tried to land, 529
Anticosti Island, 26, 37
— given to Joliet, 191
Antigua, West Indies, 361
Anville, Duc d', commands French fleet for recapture of Louisbourg, 377
— death of, 378
Appomattox, surrender at, 923
Archbishop of Canterbury visits Canada, 1059
Archibald, A. G., Secretary of State for the Provinces, 940
— sent as delegate to England, 929
— succeeds Macdougall as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, 955
"Arethcuse" French ship, at Louisbourg, 470
Argall, Samuel, 128
— captures the colony at St. Sauveur, 128
Argenson, Vicomte d', becomes Governor, 149, 150, 152
— resigns as Governor, 158
Arkansas Indians, 232
— River, 189
Armour, John Douglas, 1041
Armstrong, John, U. S. Secretary of War, 734
Arnold, Benedict, 588
— badly wounded, 596
— brilliant retreat of, on Lake Champlain, 600
— daring coup of, 602
— demands surrender of Quebec, 594
— expedition of, against Quebec, 593
— memorable expedition of, 593
— received warmly by Canadians, 594
Arnoux, surgeon, 540
Arthur, Sir George, 858
— succeeds Head, 853
Assembly refuses to countenance the annexation of Vermont, 643
— refuses to pass Supply Bills, 797
Assiniboia district, 980
Athabasca district, 980
Aubry, a great leader, 517
Auteuil, 163
Autonomy Bill, substitute for clause 16, as passed, 1067
Avaugour, Baron, allows the sale of liquor, 159
— succeeds Argenson, 158
— recommendations of, to the king, 160
Aylesworth, A. B., Canadian member Alaska Boundary Commission, 1042
— fails to explode on subject of Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1045
— Minister of Justice, 1045
— refuses to sign Alaska Boundary Tribunal decision, 1043
— undiplomatic interview with, 1043
Aylmer, Lord, recalled, and leaves Canada, 799, 804
— succeeds Kempt as Governor, 795
Aztecs, land of the, 22

Babcock, Dr. K. C., description of Wilkinson, 746
Baccalaos, original meaning of, 34
Bacchus, Island of, 28
Bachelors not allowed to hunt, fish, or trade with Indians, 173
Bagot, Sir Charles, made Governor-General, 870
— invites French into the Council, 870
— death of, 871
Bailly de Messine, coadjutor to Bishop Hubert, 661
— his career, 661, 662
— succeeded as coadjutor by Bishop Donaut, 686
Baldwin, Robert, 831, 877, 892
— fights to place French representative in Council, 869

Baldwin, Robert, made Attorney-General for Canada West, 870
— nominated member Executive Council 838
Baltimore, attack on by British a failure, 771
Bangor, captured, 932
Bank of Montreal, incorporated, 785
Banks, the, 25
Barclay, Captain R. H., command of British force on Lake Erie, 728
Basin of Mines, 306
Basques, battle with the, 52
Bathurst, Earl, recommendations regarding Canada, 780
Batoche, rebels defeated at, 984
— seat of Riel's government, 982
— taken, 984
Battle of the Plains, 533, 534
Battle with Mohawks, 58
Battleford, siege of, raised, 985
— settlers besieged in, by rebels, 984
Baum, Colonel, duped by Americans, 615
— leads British expedition against Bennington, 614
Bay of Fundy, 44
— survey of, by De Monts, 44
Bay of Gaspé, 336
Bayard, J. A., American peace envoy, 773
Beaubassin, 306, 384
Beaucour, heads expedition against Iroquois, 300
Beaujeu, Captain, 241
— killed, 423
— asks to return to France, 245
— port taken by sailors, 242
— returns to France, 246
— sent to oppose Braddock, 422
Beaumont, Wolfe lands at, 504
Beauséjour, Market Assembly meets in, 882
Beaver Dam, Canadians retreat to, 721
Bechefer, Jesuit priest, 168
Bedford, Pa., base of Fort Duquesne expedition, 490
"Belle" Frigate in La Salle's expedition, 244, 246
— lost, 247
Belleau, Sir Narcissus, forms Cabinet, 924
Belle Isle, 33
— Strait of, 25
Bellemont, Earl of, 314
Bennington, British disaster at, 614
Bering Sea Award, paid by United States, 1025
— fisheries dispute, 1005
— fisheries question settled, 1006
Bernard, Montague, member of Joint High Commission, 959
Bevin, Christopher, chief Canadian counsel Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1042
Biard, Father, 125, 126
— accused of being a traitor, 129
— character of, 128, 129
— returns to France, 129
Bidwell, Speaker of Canada Assembly, 835
Biencourt, assumes command at Port Royal, 125
— death of, 131
Bienville, Celoron de, starts on famous expedition to Ohio Valley, 408
— François de, 299
Big Bear, attempts uprising of all Indians, 982
— capture at Batoche, 985
Bigot, 435, 458
— arrested and sent to Bastile, 555
— banished, and fined 1,500,000 francs, 555
— chief of the corrupt, 436
— extent of robbery of, 437
— probably to blame for scarcity of flour, 459
— report of Battle of the Plains, 533
Biloxi, Mississippi fort built at, 350
Biscayan, fishermen, 20, 43
Bishop, first English, in British America, 660
Black Hole, the Calcutta, 446
Black Rock, garrison of resists the British, 759
Blair, A. G., attitude of, on New Transcontinental Railway, 1054
— Hon. A. G., death of, 1059
— A. J. F., made President, first Privy Council, 940
Blair, Ferguson, succeeds Brown, 925
Blake, Edward, history and character of, 987, 988, 989
— resigns as leader of Liberals, 987
— resigns from the ministry, 974
— in Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1042
Boerlster, Lieutenant-Colonel, capture of, 723, 724
Boer war and Canada, 1026
— number of Canadian troops sent to, 1028
Bolingbroke, Lord, 333
Booker, Lieutenant-Colonel, commander of Queen's Own Regiment, 927
Boone, Daniel, with Braddock at defeat, 424
Borden, Robert Laird, becomes Conservative leader, 1032
— defeat of, 1056
Boscawen, Admiral, 419, 468
Boston, overjoyed at fall of Louisbourg, 373
Bougainville, attacks Samos, 539
— aid to Montcalm, 441
— arrives too late at battle of Quebec, 538
— defeated at Ile-aux-Noix, 552
— failure of, 507
— Montcalm's lieutenant, 532
— sent to France for aid, 496
Boundary line, after the Revolution, 653
Boundary pretensions, 411
Bouquet, Henry, in Fort Duquesne expedition, 490

Bouquet, Henry, sent to relieve Fort Pitt, 568
— honors to, and death of, 572
Bourassa, Henri, resents sending of troops to South Africa, 1027
Bourbeau, defeats Laurier, 995
Bourdon, Attorney-General, 161, 163
Bourgeoys, Marguerite, in charge of schools at new settlement of Ville de Marie, 86
Bourget, Bishop, demands that no Roman Catholic support the Liberal party, 992
— leads fight on Institut Canadien, 992
— proclaims the right of the church to dictate a man's politics, 992
Bourlamaque, beaten at Sorel, 552
— boats of, stop Amherst, 515
— Montcalm's lieutenant, 514, 532
— sends alarming news to Montcalm, 521
— third in command to Montcalm, 441
Bowell, Sir Mackenzie, 1010
— succeeds to Premiership, 1005
Boyd, General, lands at present site of Prescott, Ontario, 738
Braddock, Major-General, Edward, 418, 422
— burial place unknown, 425
— death of, 424
— defeat of, 418
— defeat of, not an ambush, 422
— effects of defeat of, 425
— expedition, start of, 420
— French plan to anticipate, 422
— number of lost in forces of, 425
— panic and slaughter among troops of, 423
— papers and plans of, 426
Bradley, A. C., "The Fight with France for North America," 489
Bradstreet, John, disagrees with Bouquet, 571
— failure to relieve Detroit, 570
— leads expedition to Oswego, 442
Brazil, 17, 38
Brébeuf, Jean de, 108
— body recovered and buried, 112
— courage astonishes Iroquois, 110
— in charge of Huron missions, 83
— Jesuit missionary, 73
— murder of, 105, 110
— tortured, 109
Breda, treaty of, 142
Bressani, Father, 119, 120
Breton fishermen, 32, 43
Breyman, General, killed at Saratoga, 623
Briand, Bishop, consecrated, 1766, 575
— holds loyalty of Canadians, 597
— retires, 657; his coadjutors, D'Esglis and Hubert, 657
Bright, Mr. John, 1023
Brion-Chabot, Philippe de, admiral of France, 24
Bristol, England, 20
Britain's reliance, the navy, 466
"British Chronicle," 893
British Columbia, admitted as province, 956, 957
— wishes to secede, 973
British North America Act of 1867, 1008, 1098-1149
British North America Confederate Act, 937
British officers, lack of tact of, 564
British ships clear St. Lawrence of French vessels, 551
— save recapture of Quebec, 551
Brock, Sir Isaac, 699, 700, 702, 703, 704, 705
— death of, 708, 711
— honors to memory of, 711
— monument on Queenston Heights, 867
Brouillan, governor of Placentia, 310
Brown, Lieutenant, supports Wolfe when wounded, 536
Brown, George, 892, 913
— defeat of, 900
— delegate to Charlottetown conference, 921
— establishes Toronto "Globe," 893
— fights the ministry, 941
— foe to Catholic church, 894
— hatred of for Macdonald, 1003
— made Premier, 903
— not given his due, 896
— reconstructed Cabinet, 920
— resigns from Cabinet, 925
— sent as delegate to London, 923
Brown, General Jacob, army of, 748
— invasion of Niagara by, 747
— made Major-General, 746
— succeeds Gaines in command at Fort Erie, 762
Brown, Thomas Storrow, leader in Papineau Rebellion, 812
— warrant issued for, 812
Brulé, Etienne, 67
— captured by Iroquois, 70
— crosses Lake Ontario, 70
— exciting adventures of, 70
— interpreter, 67
— sent for reenforcements, 69
Bryce, James, visits Canada, 1059
Buffalo, herds of, 187
— N. Y., burning of, 740
— captured by British, 742
— destruction of, 980
Bulyea, George, Lieut.-Gov. of, Saskatchewan, 1071
— on the School Question, 1061
Burgoyne, General John, 599, 608, 624
— blunders and negligence of, 616
— bombastic proclamation of, 611
— crosses the Hudson, 619
— invasion of, 608
— losses of, 624
— retreats northward, 625
— surrenders, 626, 627, 628
— terms of capitulation of, 626, 627
— troops of, 625
Burlington Heights, Proctor escapes to, 731

Burlington, Iowa, site of present city of, 189
Burton, Colonel, 536
Bushy Run, battle of, 570
Byng, Admiral John, 409
Bytown, Colonel, 902
Bytown, name changed to Ottawa, 902

Cabot, John, voyage of, 20
Cabots, the, 19, 20
Cabral, voyage of, 17
Cadet, Joseph, 436
— arrested and sent to Bastile, 555
— banished for nine years, 555
Cadillac founds Detroit, 320
Caën, Emery de, receives monopoly of fur trade for one year, 1632, 77
— William and Emery de, 72
Caëns, reap harvest of gold from fur trade, 73
Cahiague, Huron village, 67
Calcutta, fall of, 446
Caldwell, Captain, defends Sandusky against Crawford's attack, 639
Callières, Louis H., goes to France to beg for troops, 280
— succeeds Frontenac, 320
Cameron, Matthew Crooks, defeats Macdougall, 920
Campbell, Alexander, made Postmaster-General, 940
Campbell, Major Duncan, killed, 481
Campbell, Sir Colin, Governor of Nova Scotia, 934
Canada, Act, 664, 665
— Alaskan boundaries of, 960
— American Civil War and, 910
— aroused over Alaskan Boundary decision, 1043
— Barre and Denonville in, 266
— becomes a nation, 885
— beginnings of, 1082
— Boer war and, 1026
— British rule in, 558
— calls for volunteers, 926
— census of, 1861, 912
— census of, 1871, 963
— census of, 1901, 1029, 1035
— courts of, 573
— currency troubles in, 575
— divided into Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, 558
— Dominion of, 936
— England gains control of, 554
— English aggressions in, 578
— English ignorant of, 780
— Fenian raids in, claims of, 960
— fights alone, 497
— first appearance of name, 33
— fisheries of, 960
— French plans for capturing, 683
— immigration activity to, 173
— immigration to, increases, 790
— invasion of, by Arnold, 590
— invasion of, by Hampton, 735
— Laurier régime in, 1019
— Murray's régime in, 572
Canada, peace feeling in, 1815, 776
— progress of, remarkable, 564
— protection policy in, 906
— Province of, 865
— race troubles in, 781
— royal proclamation on government of, 573
— royal province, 160
— self-government in, 866
— tariff bill of, 1021
Canada-Pacific Railway Company, 964
Canadian, fisheries and Americans, 961
— Railway commission, 1059
— records, 18
— troops in Boer War, 1028
Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 965
— completed Nov. 7, 1885, 977
— stock of, how held, 965
— subsidies for, 977
— surrenders its charter, 972
Canadians kept loyal by Bishop Briand, 597
"Canadien, Le," first appears, 688
— suppressed by Craig, 691
Canals along the St. Lawrence, 657
Candiac, home of Montcalm, 438
Canseau, 357
Cape Breton, becomes separate province, 932
— reunited to Nova Scotia, 933
Cape la Heve, 44
Cape of Good Hope, 17
Cape Sable, 131, 140
Carantouan, Huron town, 70
Carleton, Sir Guy, 577
— administration of, 660
— appointments by, 630
— arrives at Quebec, 660
— becomes Lord Dorchester, 659
— career of, 678, 679
— Dundas answered by, 675
— eludes Arnold, 594
— farewell of, to troops, 609
— kinghted, 632
— leaves Canada, 632, 664
— militia roll ordered by, 673
— narrow escape of, 592
— Parliament opened by, 672
— pursues Arnold, 603
— Quebec Act and, 664
— reprimanded by Dundas, 674
— resignation of, 675, 676, 678
— Simcoe and, 676, 678
— speech of, to Miamis, 673, 674
— succeeds Clinton, 654
— succeeds Haldimand, 659
— succeeds Murray as Governor, 578
— successor of, 632
— superseded, 604
— warns government, 580
— Wyoming massacre and, 634
Carleton, Colonel Thomas, Lieut.-Gov. of New Brunswick, 650
Carhagouha, 67
Carignan-Salières Regiment, 165, 172
Carnarvon, Lord, 936
Carolina, settlement of, 18, 25

"Caroline" carries supplies to Canadian insurgents, 852
— sent over Niagara Falls, 852
Carpunt islands, 33, 34
Carroll, Charles, commissioner to induce Canada to join rebellion, 598
Carson, Sir Edward H., Alaska Boundary Commission counsel, 1042
Cartier, Sir George E., 959, 963, 969
— Attorney-General, 916
— death of, 969
— delegate to Charlottetown conference, 921
— delegate to London, 923
— delegate to England, 929
— forms new Cabinet, 905
— made Baronet, 940
— made Commander of the Bath, 939
— made Minister of Militia, 940
Cartier, Jacques, 42, 83
— discoverer of New France, 21, 24
— heals sick Indians, 30
— made Captain-General, 34
— quarrels with Roberval, 35
— refuses to return to Canada, 35
— return to France, 33
— second voyage of, 1535, 26
— third voyage of, 35
— winters in Quebec, 32
Cartwright, Sir Richard, 989, 1024
Casco Bay, 287
Cassidy, Francis, 991
Castine, Maine, captured, 136, 306, 932
Castlereagh agrees to appoint Peace Commissioners, 774
Cataraqui River, 203
Cathcart, Earl, succeeds Metcalfe, 872
Cavelier, Abbé Jean, 179, 241, 249, 255, 257, 259
Cavendish, Thomas, explorer, 38
Cayley, William, member of Council, 897
Cazot, Father, last of the American Jesuits, dies, 686
Censitaires, 174
Census of Canada in 1861, 912
— in 1871, 963
— for 1901, 1029, 1035
Chabanel, Father Noel, 117, 118
Chabot, Admiral Philippe de, 33
Chabot, member of Council, 897
Chaleurs, Bay of, 26
Chamberlain, Joseph, 1023
Chambly, French fort at, 166, 348
Champlain, Samuel, 41, 79, 83, 253
— and Acadia, 41
— arrives at Tadoussac, 53
— arrives at Lake Huron, 67
— arrives at Quebec, 70, 78
— attacks the Onondagas, 68
— banishes Huguenots, 78
— begs Charles I to restore Canada to France, 77
— death of, 78
— defeats the Iroquois, 60
— explores Ottawa River, 63
— explores the Richelieu, 57
— explores the St. Lawrence, 57
Champlain, Samuel, first voyage of, 42
— fur-trade monopoly, 62
— goes to France, 65, 70
— goes to Hochelega, 61
— interest of in New France, 62
— joins De Chastes' expedition, 41
— loses prestige, 69
— monument to, 1081
— mission of, to French king, 51
— mistaken policy of, 56
— religion of (note), 52
— retreats from Iroquois, 69
— sails with de Monts, 43
— second voyage of, up the Ottawa, 66
— seeks new place for settlement, 46
— statue of, at Quebec, 1025
— surrenders Quebec, 77
— warned by Tadoussac, 76
— wars against the Iroquois, 60
— wife of, beauty, charms Indians, 72
— wife of, becomes a nun on his death, 72
— winters with Daroutat, 70
— wounded, 69
Chandler, Brigadier-General, captured, 722
Chapais, J. C., Minister of Agriculture, 940
Charles, Archduke of Austria, 322
Charles I, agrees to cede Quebec to France, 77
— decides to aid Huguenots, 75
— sends privateers against Quebec, 75
Charles the Bold, 14
Charles V of Spain, 22, 33
Charles VI, of Austria, 356
Charlottetown conference, Sept. 1, 1864, 921
Charlton, John, Joint High Commissioner, 1024
— sent to Washington in interests of reciprocity, 1021
Charnisay, Seigneur d' Aunay, 133
— attacks Fort St. Jean, 137
— attacks Castine, 136
— captures Fort St. Jean, 139
— captures Gen. La Tour, 137
— cause of upheld by France, 137
— dictator of Acadia, 140
— drowned, 140
— hangs garrison of Fort St. Jean, 139
— succeeds Razilly, 133
Chase, Samuel, commissioner to induce Canada to join rebellion, 598
Chastes, Aymar de, 41
Chasy, death of, 168
Château Frontenac, Quebec, 1025
Château St. Louis, Quebec, 657
Chateauguay, defeat of Americans at, 735, 736
— fight in woods of, 735
Chaumonot, Father, 143
Chauncey, Commodore Isaac, 711
Chauveau, member of Council, 897
Chauvin, death of, 40
— and Pontgrave fur trading expedition, 40

Chesapeake Bay, discovered, 23
— map of by Verrazzano, 23
"Chesapeake" and "Leopard" encounter, 689, 694
Chicago, site of, 193
Chicago River, 193, 231
Chicksaw Bluffs, La Salle left at, 235
Chippewa, battle of, 751, 763
— losses at, 763
Chittenden, Gov. of Vermont, 641
— Vermont annexation, and, 643
Cholera in Canada, in 1833, 834
Christie, Robert, of Gaspé, 793
Chrystler's Farm, American disaster at, 737, 738
"Chub," British ship, 766
Church, Major Benjamin, 328
Church, Anglican, in Canada, 682, 685
— after the Revolution, 661
— institutions at Quebec and Montreal, 84
— of England, virtually established, 836
Civil War in United States ended, 923
Clark, George Rogers, captures Kaskaskia, 636
— captures Vincennes, 636
— recaptures Vincennes, 638
Clarke, Sir Alured, opens the Parliament of Lower Canada, 667
Clay, Henry, American peace envoy, 774
— influence of during War of 1812, 698
"Clear Grit" Party, 884, 896
Clergy, aggressiveness of, 156
— reserves, 827, 887, 888
Clinton, succeeded by Carleton in New York, 654
Clive, Gen. Robert, victory of, at Plassey, 447
Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, 158, 171
— regulations of, 161
Colborne, Sir John, Governor, 830, 863
— history of, 863
— military director of Canada, 854
— retires as Governor, 836
— takes command of military force, 810, 843
"Colonial Advocate," published by Mackenzie, 828
Colonial forces, wrangling in, 441
Columbus, 13, 14, 16, 20, 182
— discoveries of, 19
— idea of America, 16
Company of New France, require settlers to be Frenchmen and Catholics, 74
— monopoly of fur trade to, 74
— organized by Richelieu, 74
Concord, Battle of, 587
Condé transfers his monopoly in New World, 72
Confederates make trouble in Canada, 921
Confederation, Act, features of, 937, 938, 939
— goes into effect, 939
— committee begins work, 936
— convention, 921
— first hint of, 906
Confederation, preparing for, 911
"Confiance," British ship, 766
Congress, Continental, and Vermont negotiations, 641, 642, 643
— of English, meets in New York, 1690, 288
Conservative, Party, reconstruction of, 1005
— political picnics, 973
— victory in Ontario, 1057
Conservatives carry election, 872
Constitutional Act, 665, 666
— of, 1791, 800
Continental Congress, urges Canada to rebel, 583
Contrecœur, builds Fort Duquesne, 414
Convers, Captain, 308
Cook, Captain James, at Quebec, 504
Coolidge, T. Jefferson, Joint High Commissioner, 1024
Cornwall, Duke of, visit of, to Canada, 1030, 1031
Cornwallis, E., coming of, to Acadia, 383
Cornwallis, Lord, criticisms of, 645
— surrender of, 643, 644
Cortereal, Gaspar, Portuguese explorer, 20
Cortés, Hernando, campaigns of, 240
— loots land of Aztecs, 22
Coulon de Villiers, 442
Courcelles, Sieur de, 165, 175, 179, 180
— expedition of, against Iroquois, 166
— resigns as Governor, 201
— returns to Quebec, 166
Coureurs de bois, beaten by the English, 517
Courillier, first Speaker of Assembly, 867
Court ceremonies in the wilderness, 234
Courts, establishment of, 630
Couture, adopted into Iroquois family, 93
— captured by Iroquois, 90
— effects peace among the Indians, 99
— left at Starved Rock, 258
— return of, 99
Craig, Sir James, Lieut.-Gov. of Lower Canada, 689, 690
— administration of, 690
— dissolves Parliament, 691
— discriminates between English and French, 691
— resigns as Governor, 692
Cramalié, acts as Governor, 580
Crawford, Col. William, attacks Sandusky, 639
Croghan, Colonel George, defends Fort Sandusky, 727
Cromwell, Oliver, 141
— bestows domain on La Tour, 142
Crown Point, 441
— abandoned by French, 514
— expedition against, 426
— not taken, 428
Crowne, Rev. William, 142
Crozier, Major, defeated at Duck Lake, 982
Cumberland, Duke of, 498
Curry, Captain, supports Wolfe when wounded, 536

Customs Act of 1859, 906
Cuyler, Lieutenant, sent to relieve Detroit, 567

Dablon, Father, 143, 177, 181, 194
— recounts Marquette's death, 196-198
Dale, Sir Thomas, 128
Dalhousie, Lord, retires from Governorship, 791
— becomes Governor of Canada, 789
— career of, 789
Daly, member first Council, 868
Dalzell, sent to relieve Detroit, 567
Daniel, Father, death of, 107
"Daring," English ship, 311
Daroutat, Huron chief, 70
Daulac (see Dollard)
— Sieur des Ormeaux, known as Dollard, 152
Dauversiers, 149
Davies, Sir L. H., accompanies Laurier to Washington, 1023
— Joint High Commissioner, 1024
Davis, Capt. Sylvanus, 287
Day, Charles Dewey, member first Council, 868
— Royal Commissioner on bribery charges, 967
Dearborn, Gen. Henry, blamed for pillage of York (Toronto), 719
— commander U. S. army in War of 1812, 706
— fiasco of, in Lower Canada, 712
— retires to Albany, 713
— retreats to Fort George, 722
— slow to follow up advantage, 727
Deerfield, Mass., massacre at, 323
— rebuilt, 324
— sacked, 323
De Gourges, 19
De Launay, 258
De Laune, Captain, landing party with Wolfe, 524
— leader of the "forlorn hope," 527
De Lauzon replaced as Governor, 149
Delfosse, commissioner on fisheries dispute, 975
De Ligneris, commander at Fort Duquesne, 493, 494
Democracy, rebirth of, 15
Denis, or Denys, Jean, of Honfleur, 21
Denonville, Marquis de, 273
— and the English Governor of New York, 269
— correspondence with Dongan, 269
— decides to try diplomacy, 276
— humiliated, 276
— recalled, 280
— returns to Quebec, 274
— succeeds La Barre, 268
— thoroughly cowed, 275
— treacherous act of, at Fort Frontenac, 270
Denys, Nicolas, 140
"De Roquemont," ship, 131
De Rottenberg, succeeds Sheaffe in command, 719
De Salaberry, opposes Hampton's advance, 735
D'Eglis, coadjutor Bishop of Quebec, 657, 658
Des Plaines River, 194
D'Estaing, Count, issues appeal to the habitants, 633
Detroit, Mich., 183
— campaign against, 725
— designated depot for fur trade, 320
— founded 1699, 320
— Pontiac lays siege to, 566
— retaken by the Americans, 729
— siege of, 567, 568
— Strait of, 181
— surrenders to Brock, 704
Devonshire, Duke of, becomes Premier, 445
Dickens, Francis, commander of Fort Pitt, 983
Dickinson, Jacob M., on Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1042
Dieppe, France, 23
Dieppese, companion of Jogues, 103
Dieskau, Baron, 419, 436
— commander of troops of New France, 426
— shot and captured, 428
Dingley, Nelson, Joint High Commissioner, 1024
Dingley Tariff Bill, 1020
Dinwiddie, Robert, Governor of Virginia, 411
— quarrels of, with Washington, 425
Dolbeau, Jean, 66
Dollard (Daulac), 153
— killed, 156
Dominion of Canada, 936
— Act becomes law March 28, 1867, 937
Donaut becomes Bishop, 686
Dongan, Thomas, Governor of New York, etc., 269
— demands return of Rooseboom and McGregory, 275
— recalled, 275
— scolds the Iroquois, 275
Donnacona, Indian chief, 28
— taken to France by Cartier, 32
— court of, on site of Quebec, 28
Dorchester, Lord (see Carleton, Guy)
Doreil, Montcalm writes to, 484
— sent to France, 496
Dorion, A. A., member of Cabinet, 903
— defeat of, 906
Douay, Father Anastase, 245, 249, 252
Double-majority principle, 901
"The Double Shuffle," 905
Downie, Captain, commander of British fleet, 765, 767
— killed, 768
Drake, Sir Francis, 38
— a pirate, 24
Draper, member first Council, 868
— President of new Ministry, 871
Drucour, Chevalier de, Governor of Louisbourg, 466

Drummond, Sir Gordon, administrator of Lower Canada, 780
— arrives in Canada, 740
— begins march toward Lundy's Lane, 752
— quits Canada, 782
— sketch of, 742
Duchambon, blunders of, 364
— succeeds Duquesnel, 363
Duchesneau, and Frontenac quarrel, 265
— made intendant, 265
— recalled, 266
Duck Lake, post at seized by Riel, 982
— rebels win first battle at, 982
Dudley, Governor, 328
Duff, L. P., Canadian counsel, Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1042
Dufferin, Earl of, becomes Governor-General, 963
— death of, 1033
— retires from Governor-Generalship, 976
Dufferin Terrace, Quebec, 502
Du Gay, accompanies Hennepin, 226
— allowed to depart from Sioux camp, 228
Duhaut, companion of La Salle, 249, 250, 255
— killed by Hiens, 256
— successor of La Salle, as leader, 256
Du Lhut, 270
— meets Hennepin, 228
— leader of coureurs de bois, 228
Duluth, named after Du Lhut, 228
Dumesnil, an honest investigator, 162
— arrested, 163
— sent to investigate fur trade, 161
Dumont, Gabriel, chief lieutenant of Riel, 982
— escapes at capture of Batoche, 985
— opposes General Middleton, 984
Dunbar, Colonel, commander of Braddock's reserves, 424
— returns to Philadelphia, 425
Dundonald, Lord, course of, condemned in England, 1052
— dismissed, 1051
— exit of, 1049
— given fine demonstrations, 1051
— quarrels of with Minister of Militia, 1049
— sketch of, 1049
Dunn, John Henry, nominated member Executive Council, 838
Dunn, Thomas, controls government in Lower Canada, 688, 689
Dupuy, Captain, 144
Duquesne, Marquis, Governor of Quebec, 410
Duquesnel, Governor of Louisbourg, 357
— death of, 363
Durham, Earl of, administration of, 855
— attempts to reconcile English and French, 858
— death of, 862
— decides English must be supreme, 858
— entrance into Quebec, 857
Durham, Earl of, foresight of, 913
— given supreme power in Canada, 856
— great report of, presented in 1839, 862
— leaves for home, 863
— real father of Confederation, 913
— recalled, 862
— resentment toward, for sending political prisoners to Bermuda, 861
— sacrificed to political necessities, 861
— sends political prisoners to Bermuda, 861
— sketch of, 855, 856
Durrell, Admiral, blockades St. Lawrence, 501
Dutch colonies, growth of, 318
Du Thet, Jesuit lay brother, 126
Duvivier attacks Annapolis, 357
— gives up siege of Annapolis, 358

"Eagle," American ship on Lake Champlain, 766
Earthquake of 1663, 160
Easton, Indian conference at, 490
Eastport, captured, 932
Ecuyer, Captain, commandant at Fort Pitt, 568
Edmonton, made capital of Alberta, 1070
Edward VII, King, coronation of, 1033
Elgin, Earl of, becomes Governor-General, 875
— biography of by Prof. Wrong, 856
— insulted by mob, 879
— made Governor of Jamaica, 875
— most successful viceroy since Frontenac, 897
— name dropped from clubs, 882
— reaches Canada, 876
— reception of, in Boston, 876
— regarded Rebellion Losses Bill as logical measure, 878
— resignation not accepted, 883
— retires, 897
— signs Rebellion Losses Bill, 879
— stormy but successful career, 875
— valedictory of, 898
England, claim of, to America, 19
— expeditions of, 18
— rejoicing in, at fall of Louisbourg, 473
— sends expedition against New Amsterdam, 141
— sends ships to invade Canada, 332
— sends troops to America, 445
— joy in, at fall of Quebec, 547
English, and French colonists compared, 48
— attack French ships, 76
— attack Montcalm six times, 481
— beginning to move west, 407
— caught in a trap, 510
— colonies, growth of, 318
— colonies, united, 435
— demand surrender of Quebec, 76
— expeditions of, 19, 38
— fleet arrives, 1629, 77
— massacred at Fort William Henry, 454
— new spirit in, 445

English, plucky attack by, 298
— retreat and demoralization of, 482
— settlers in Canada, 656
— transports wrecked in Walker's expedition, 337
"Envieux," French ship, 308
Ericson, Leif, 182
Erie, Pa., site of, 410
Esopus Creek, town burned by British, 627
Estournel, D', Vice-Admiral, arrives at Chibucto, 378
— commits suicide, 378
European immigration, 1074
"Examiner" of Toronto, Reform newspaper, 871

Fairbanks, Senator Charles W., Joint High Commissioner, 1024
Falkland, Lord, Governor of Nova Scotia, 934
Falls of St. Anthony, 185, 228
"Family Compact," 822
Far East, wealth of, 16
"Farthest West Station," 186
Fatal black box, 103
Faure, President, 1022
Fénelon, Abbé, 264
— banished from Canada, 265
Fenian Brotherhood, 925
Fenian, invasion broken up, 927
— raids expensive, 927
— raids into Canada, 925
Fenians in United States, 925
— murder of McGee ascribed to, 946
Ferdinand and Isabella, 13, 14
Ferdinand, victories of, 461
Fielding, William S., announces troops for South Africa, 1027
— budget speech of, April 22, 1897, 1020
— Minister of Finance, 1017
— success in Nova Scotia, 1056
— triumph of, in election, 1055
Fifteenth century, wars of, 17
"Finch," British ship, 766
Finlay, R. B., Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1042
First Christian service held among Indians, 67
First French-English sea fight in America, 128
Fish, Hamilton, Joint High Commissioner, 959
Fish Creek, rebels encountered at, 984
Fisher, Sydney, Minister of Agriculture, 1049
Fisheries dispute settled, 975
FitzGibbon, Lieutenant, 724
FitzGibbon, Colonel, 849
Fitzpatrick, Sir Charles, 1065
Five Nations, 145
Florida, ceded to England, 561
— expedition to, 38
— settlement of, 18
Fontbonne, French general, killed at Quebec, 537
Forbes, John, selected to capture Fort Duquesne, 461
— burial place of, 494
— death of, 494
— bravery of, 491
Forget, Amedée Emmanuel, Lieut.-Gov. of Alberta, 1071
Forsythe's Hotel, at Niagara Falls, 830
Fort Anne, burned by Americans, 611
Fort Beauséjour, 385, 386, 526
— surrenders to the English, 388
Fort Chartres founded, 354
Fort Crèvecœur, built, 215
— deserted, 221
Fort Detroit, attack on, 354
Fort Douglas, afterward Fort Garry, now Winnipeg, 948
Fort Duquesne, 414, 419, 420, 493
— blown up and abandoned, 494
— campaign against, 461
— falls, 489
— Indians at, tire of inactivity, 494
— renamed Fort Pitt, 494
— expedition against, 489
— expedition, soldiers of, discouraged, 492
— expedition, troops hard to raise for, 489
Fort Edward, 398, 452
— on the Hudson, 441
— occupied by British, 612
Fort Erie, assault on, by British, 760
— British beaten back from, 759
— easily taken by Brown, 750
— explosion of magazine chest at, 762
— General Brown retires to, 758
— resists Americans, 712
Fort Frontenac, 222
— designated depot for fur trade, 320
— erection of, 205
— surrenders to English, 487
— taken by the British, 486
Fort Garry, 950
— now Winnipeg, 948
— seized by Riel, 953
Fort George, Americans plan to take, 720
— captured by Americans, 720
Fort Georgetown, attack on, 346
Fort Lévis, 552
Fort Lomeron, 131
Fort Loyal, site of, now Portland, Maine, 287
Fort Lyman, 426
Fort Miami, 222, 230
Fort Meigs, General Winchester intrenches, 725
Fort Necessity, constructed by Washington, 416
— surrender of, 416
Fort Nelson reoccupied by English, 311
— surrenders to Iberville, 312
Fort Niagara, captured by British, 742
Fort Orange, Dutch at, 95
Fort Pitt, abandoned, 983
— attacked by Indians, 983
— formerly Fort Duquesne, 494

Fort Prudhomme, 235
Fort St. Jean, captured by English, 141
— settlement at, 134
Fort St. Louis, building of, 236, 246, 258
— on the Illinois, 259, 354
Fort Stanwix, failure to capture, by General St. Leger, 618
Fort Texas, destroyed, 261
— garrison butchered by Indians, 261
Fort Ticonderoga, failure of Abercrombie at, 473
Fort William, 948
Fort William Henry, burned, 455
— capture of, 450
— causes leading to massacre, 457
— Indians massacre the English surrendered at, 454
— Montcalm's plan for capture of, 450
— on Lake George, 441
— panic among those who surrendered, 454
— siege of, begun, 451
— surprise of, 451
— surrenders, Aug. 9, 1757, 452
— terms of surrender of, 453
Foster, George E., leader of revolt against Premier Bowell, 1011
— resigns from Cabinet, 1011
Foucher, Justice, charges against, 785
Fox River, 186
Foxes, Indian tribe, 176, 355
France, 13
— expedition of, 18
— misery of, under Catherine de Medici, 38
— opportunity of, in middle West, 407
— proposed invasion of Canada by, 634
— refuses to help Canada, 496
— under Henry of Navarre, 37
Francis I of France, 22, 33, 34
Franklin, Benjamin, Commissioner to induce Canada to join the rebellion, 598
— his negotiations with Oswald, 647
— sophistry of, 586
— Treaty of Paris and, 648
Fraser, General, attacks Americans near Hubberton, 611
— mortally wounded at Saratoga, 623
Fraser, Simon, a Scotch soldier, 525
Frederick the Great of Prussia, 356
— victories of, 461
French, ambushed, 274
— and English boundaries, 75
— and English colonies, contrasted, 74
— and English meet near Lake George, 427, 428
— and English progress compared, 82
— and Indians repulsed at Wells, Maine, 308
— blunders of, at Louisbourg, 467
— build forts, 1753, 410
— cruisers prey on Massachusetts boats, 289
— dissatisfaction of, 802
— escape, March 20, 1658, 148
French, expeditions, 19
— fishermen in New World, 38
— fleet dispersed by storm, 379
— fleet elude the English, 419
— fleet, remnants of, reach France, 379
— fleet scattered by storm, 377
— gain complete control, 444
— gain by Braddock's defeat, 425
— give great feast, 146
— Huguenot missions, to Brazil, 18
— Huguenot missions, to Florida-Carolina, 18
— officers, return of, to France, 555
— party grows in assurance, 805
— repatriation, 562
— retreat of, 331
— scheme to capture New York, 281
— ships destroyed by Kirke, 76
— survey of Plymouth and Boston, 46
— try to kill Post, 492
Frenchtown, Harrison routed at, 725
Freshwater Cove, 364
Frog Lake, attacked, 982
Frontenac, 83, 253
— appointed Governor, 201-202
— arrival in Canada, 282
— attacks Schenectady, 285
— character of, 315
— days of triumph of, 288
— death of, 314
— defiance of, 293
— endeavors to save Upper Lake region, 284
— enthusiasm of, at sight of Quebec, 202
— finest memorial of, 316
— gains confidence of Iroquois, 204
— Indians bow to, 293
— master from the beginning, 202
— ordered not to deal in furs, 265
— plans expedition against Mohawks, 303
— policy of, 433
— quarrels of, 305
— quarrels of, and his recall, 263
— recalled, 237, 266
— receives reward for defending Quebec, 305
— refuses to surrender Quebec, 294
— return of, 280
— tries diplomacy and fails, 283
— tries war, 284
Fry, Joshua, appointed Colonel, 414
Fryeburg, Maine, battle of, 347
Fur trade, 947
— founding of, 39
— monopoly granted by King in 1588, 39

Gage, Gen. Thomas, wounded, 424
Gaines, Gen. Edmund P., brigadier-general, 747
Gallatin, Albert, American peace envoy, 773
Galt, Sir Alexander T., 913
— asked to form new Cabinet, 905
— delegate to Charlottetown conference, 921
— made Commander of the Bath, 939
— made a K.C.M.G., 940

Galt, Sir Alexander T., made Minister of Finance, 940
— commissioner on fisheries dispute, 975
— sent as delegate to England, 923, 929
Galve, Spanish Viceroy, 261
Galveston Bay, location of, 244
Gamache, Marquis de, founds college in Quebec, 84
Gambier, Lord, peace commissioner, 774
Garland, James Robert, Royal Commissioner on bribery charges, 967
Garnier, Father, character of, 117
— killed by Iroquois, 116
Gaspé, anger in, over treatment of Christie, 794
— landing place of Cartier, 26
— Cartier plants cross at, 26
Gates, Gen Horatio, career of, 617
— supersedes Schuyler, 617
General election, of 1872, 963
— of 1904, 1052
General elections, issues of, 1053
Genet, French Minister to the United States, 670
— stirs up discontent among Canadians, 670
— successors of, 682
Geoffrion, Aimé, Canadian counsel, Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1042
George II, death of, 559
George IV, King, death of, 795
Georgian Bay, 67, 107
— settlements at, 114
Germain, Lord George, prejudice of, against Carleton, 604, 605
— resigns office, 632, 646
— Vermont and, 641
Germany, anarchy in, 14
Gervase, Kirke, expedition, 1628, 75
Gilbert, explorer, 38
Gipps, Sir George, British commissioner on Lower Canada troubles, 799
— submits report to Parliament, 808
Girard, Father, 384
Girod, Amory, commits suicide, 815
Gist, Christopher, Virginia trader, 409
Gladstone, W. E., 1023
Gladwin, Major, commander at Detroit, 565
Gold, discovery of, 18
Gore, Sir Francis, leaves government to Brock, 699
— succeeds Governor Hunter, 689
Gosford, Earl of, British commissioner on Lower Canada troubles, 799
— prorogues Parliament, 808, 809
— succeeds Aylmer as Governor of Canada, 799
— tries conciliation on French, 805
— retires as Governor, 816
Gosford Commission reaches Quebec, 804
Goulbourn, Henry, English peace commissioner, 774
Goupil, missionary, captured by Iroquois, 90
— killed by his captors, 93
Gourlay, Robert F., 892
— arrested and banished, 1819, 825
Gourlay, Robert F., arrested, tried and acquitted, 824
— offends Legislature, 825
— restless career and death of, 826
— romantic career of, 821
Government ownership, favored by Conservatives, 1054
Governor-General, decline of powers of, 868
— first, 659
Governors, convention of, 419
"Graft" in seventeenth century, 264
Grand Banks, fisheries of, 20, 38
Grand Battery, abandoned by French, 467
Grand Pré, 398
Grand Trunk Pacific, arrangement defective, 1053
— asks better terms, 1046
Grand Trunk Railway Company, 1034
Grand Trunk Railway, organization of, 885
Grant, Major, captured, 491
— folly of, 491
— leader of raid against Fort Duquesne, 490
Graves, succeeds Monks as Attorney-General, 660
"Graveyard of the Atlantic," 22
Gray, Senator George, Joint High Commissioner, 1024
Gray, Thomas "Elegy," of, 525
Great Bay, 33, 34
Green Bay, 186
Greenway, Thomas, Prime Minister of Manitoba, 1010, 1017
Grenada, 14
Grey, Sir Charles, British Commissioner on Lower Canada troubles, 799
—submits report to Parliament, 808
Grey, Earl, 876, 1026, 1058
— banquet to, on leaving England, 1058
Gridley, Colonel Richard, 535
Grief of warriors, 117
"Griffin," the, first European sailing vessel on Lake Erie, 211
— launched, 210
— loss of, 212, 217
— mystery surrounding loss of, 217
— sent back to the Niagara River, 211
Grollet, 256, 261
Guercheville, Madame de, 125, 129
— obtains gift of North America from French King, 126
Guibord, Joseph, death of, 993
— not allowed burial, 993
— strange case of, 992
Gulf of Mexico, 234

HAGGART, JOHN, resigns from Cabinet, 1011
Haldimand, Frederick, American Loyalists and, 652
— attitude toward French, 634
— career of, 632
— character of, 656, 657
— commands fort at Oswego, 515
— recalled to England, 656

Haldimand, Frederick, refuses to relinquish American ports, 654
— succeeds Carleton, 632
— Vermont negotiations, 641, 642, 643
Haliburton, 390
— on Acadian expulsion, 402
Halifax, N. S., 447
— founded, 382
Hamilton, Col. Henry, his expedition to Vincennes, 636
— his capture and cruel treatment, 638
— Lieut.-Governor of Canada, 657
— reaches England, 639
"Hampshire," English ship, 311
Harmon, Capt., leads expedition against Rale, 346
Harrison, B., President of United States, 999
Harrison, member first Council, 868
Harrison, William Henry, commands forces at Detroit, 706
— leads expedition against Detroit, 725
Hart expelled from the House of Lower Canada, 690
Hartford Convention, 776
Harvey, Lieut.-Col., attacks Americans at Stoney Creek, 721
Haultain, Premier of North-West Territories, 1065
Havana, receded to Spain, 561
Haverhill, raided by the French, 325
Haviland conducts Lake Champlain campaign, 552
Hawke defeats French ships, 466
Hawkins, 38
Hay, John, U. S. Secretary of State, 1038
Hays, C. M., Grand Trunk Pacific Co., 1047
Head, Sir Francis Bond, 839
— Governor of Canada, 837
— Governor of Upper Canada, 807
— informed of the rebellion, 848
— narrow escape of, in New York, 853
— recalled, 853
— refuses to stop seditious utterances, 842
— sends troops against Papineau, 843
— stormy rule of, 837
Head, Sir Edmund, blunders of, 904
— character of, 913, 914
— succeeds Elgin as Governor-General, 899
— retires from Governor-Generalship, 913
Henderson, Ensign, supports Wolfe, wounded, 536
Hennepin, Father Louis, allowed to leave Sioux camp, 228
— attempts to placate Senecas, 208
— begins his voyage, 215
— boasting of, 207
— captured by Sioux, 227
— character of, 207, 229
— claim of, false, 226
— dies without distinction, 229
— descends Mississippi, 229
Hennepin, Father Louis, first to describe Niagara Falls, 208
— lost record of, 229
— memoirs of, 226
— meets Du Lhut, 228
— misses confidence of associates, 229
— on the Mississippi River, 226
— received with honors by Frontenac, 229
— returns to Quebec, 229
— visits Senecas, 208
"Hennepin Canal," 229
Henry IV of France, 38, 83
— assassinated, 60
Henry VII of England, 14
Henry VIII of England, 14
"Heptameron," 36
Herbert, Sir Michael, British Ambassador to U S., 1038
Herschell, Baron, Joint High Commissioner, 1024
Hertel, François, 286
Hessians, uniforms of, 615
Hessians, with Burgoyne, 608
Hiens, accompanies La Salle, 249
— kills Duhaut, 256
— meets just fate, 261
— sent to find caché, 250
Hill, John, commander in Walker expedition, 333
Hincks, Sir Francis, Governor of Windward Islands, 899
— Grand Trunk Railway agent, 885
— Inspector-General, 870
— leader with Morin, 885
— Scotchman by birth, 892
Hincks Cabinet overthrown, 896
Hoar, Judge E. R., Joint High Commissioner, 959
Hochelaga Indians, disappearance of, 42
— settlement of, 29, 33
— village, near site of Montreal, 29
— welcome of, to Cartier, 29
— village of, described, 30
Holbourne, 447
Hope, Col., Lieut.-Governor of Canada, 657
— Lieut.-Gov. of Quebec, 659
Hope Gate, Quebec, 659
Howe, Capt. Edward, murder of, 385
Howe, Joseph, accepts office under Dominion, 944
— death of, 969
— opposed to Confederation, 942
— protests against action of Council; 933
— Speaker of Quebec Assembly, 934
Howe, Lord, assists Abercrombie, 461
— burial place of, 478
— character of, 475
— Commander of the Bath, 939
— death of, 476
— death of, costly, 479
— qualities as a leader, 475
Howland, W. P., delegate to England, 929
— Minister of Revenue, 940
Hubert, Father, coadjutor to Bishop of Quebec, 657, 658

INDEX

Hubert, Father, censures absentee priests, 662
Hudson, Hendrick, 18, 310
— Dutch claim territory explored by, 75
"Hudson Bay," English ship, 311
Hudson Bay, 191
— ceded to English, 339
— early days in, 310
Hudson's Bay Company, 310, 947, 953
— charter of, 947
Hudson Strait, 20
Huguenots, 38
— banished by Champlain, 78
— of Carolina, 352
Hull, Gen. William, arrives at Detroit, 701
— attacks Amherstburg, 702, 703
— career of, 700, 701
— commands in War of 1812, 700
— cowardice of, 704
— retreats to Detroit, 703
— sentenced to death, 704
— surrenders, 704
Hume, David, 805
Humber River, 220
Hunter, General, Governor of Lower Canada, 689
"Hunter," British warship, 524
Huntingdon, attacks Macdonald Government, 966
— speech of, 965
Huron country, Indian uprisings in, 108, 283
Huron missions, 83
— abandoned, 118
— ruin of, 106
Huron tribes disperse, 120
Hurons abandon their homes, 113
— changed character of the, 107
— cowardly, 68
— efforts to control, 269
— history of dispersed tribes, 121
— Jesuit missions among the, 90
— massacre of, 112
— mortality among, on St. Joseph Island, 115
— remove to St. Joseph Island, 114
— survivors of to-day, 121
— unmanned, 113

Iberville, Sieur de, 285
— captures English vessel, 310
— career of, in the north, 308
— expedition against Fort Nelson, 311
— founds Louisiana, 350
— gains naval victory, 312
— meets English fleet, 311
— sails for mouth of St. John, 308
— sketch of, 308
Ile-aux-Noix, Bourlamaque makes a stand at, 515
Illinois, Indian tribe, 176, 187
— ascended by Marquette, 190
— capital of, destroyed by Iroquois, 221
— chief of all tribes of, 188
— country of, reached by La Salle, 213
— peace made by La Salle, 213
Illinois River, 194, 231
Immaculate Conception, dear to Marquette, 193
— mission of the, 195
Immigrants, new force in politics, 832
Immigration from United States, 1075
Imperial Conference in London, 1033
Inauguration Day, date of, explained, 646
Independence, first talk of, 803
India, first voyage to, 17
— northwest passage to, 20
Indian plots, 72, 213, 223
— retaliation, 326
— Cartier kidnaps young, 26
Indians, aid given to, 114
— effects on, of American war, 655
— Ohio, in War of 1812, 695, 696
— resent British rule, 564
— warfare in Ohio, 663
Inglis, Dr. Charles, Bishop of English Church, 660
— career of, 661
Inquisition in Spain, 14
Institut Canadien, 991
— opposition to, by clergy, 991, 992
Intercolonial Railway, first section of, 963
— proposed in 1824, 935
Inter-Oceanic Railway Company, 964
Iowa, State of, 189
"Ipswich Letter," against Winthrop, 138
Ireland, immigration from, 796
— immigration from, enormous, 877
Irondequoit Bay, 180, 274
Iroquois, Indians, 42, 54, 56, 106
— advance on Georgian Bay, 115
— aided by English and Dutch, 94
— astonished by Father Brébeuf, 110
— attack Dollard, 154, 155
— attack Montreal, 86
— attack settlements, 106, 152
— Champlain proceeds against, 66
— country of, 68
— defeated, 111, 170
— enraged at Jogues, 95
— expedition against, 273
— frightened away, 111
— kindly treated by French, 99
— reenforced, 155
— unsuccessful in attack, 143
— victorious over Champlain, 69
— whites on good terms with, 95
Island Battery, Louisbourg, 368
— attack on, repulsed, 368
Isle of Demons, 36
Isle of Orleans, arrival of fleet at, 504
— Hurons moved to, 120
— offered for settlement, 86
Isthmian Canal treaty, 1038
Italy, anarchy in, 14
— no part in discovery, 19
Ivan the Great, 14
Ives, William B., resigns from Cabinet, 1011
Izard, George, Major-General, 747
— arrives at Buffalo, 770

Izard, George, Major-General, commands American forces, 764
— hard luck of, 770
— sets out for Sackett's Harbor, 765

"Jacinto," U. S. ship, 914
Jackson, Andrew, defeats British, 772
Jacobite rebellion, 464
Jacques, companion of Marquette, 193
Jamay, Denis, 66
Jamestown, Va., 18, 53, 81
Jamestown attacks Acadia, 128
Jefferson, Thomas, 698
Jervis confers with Wolfe, 523
Jesuit, Estates Act, 1889, 996
— influence, character of, 123
— missions, 80, 84, 106, 122, 144
— period, 81, 83, 121, 122
— Relations, 81, 82, 123, 196-198
Jesuits, coming of the, 73
— charity of the, 115
— disapproved by Poutrincourt, 125
— in Canada, 73, 81, 123, 685, 686
— Montgomery and, 80
— supporter of, 60
— suppressed and restored, 996
— welcomed by Iroquois, 170
Jetté, Sir Louis A., and Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1041, 1043
Jews in Canada, 690, 691
Jogues, Isaac, Jesuit martyr, 83, 90
— at peace council, 100
— attempts to escape, 96
— baptizes Indians, 94
— brought to New York, 97
— canonization of, 105, 122
— captured by Iroquois, 90
— captured by Mohawks, 104
— change of sentiment toward, 103
— death of, 104
— dispensation for, 98
— Dutch endeavor to release, 95
— escapes to Dutch vessel, 96-97
— finds Goupil's remains, 93
— gifts of, to Iroquois, 101, 102
— liberated, 104
— life and character of, 90-105
— martyrdom of, 122
— mission to Iroquois, 102
— presentiment of death, 103
— ransomed by Dutch, 97
— reaches Rennes, 97
— released from torture, 92
— religious zeal of, 105
— returns to Canada, 98
— sails for England, 97
— saintly life of, 105
— sends for aid, 95
— tortured, 92, 104
— welcomed in Paris, 97
Johnson, Andrew, President of U. S., 925
Johnson, Sir William, 419
— attempt on Crown Point, 426
— makes raids in Canada, 380
— made baronet, 428
— names Lake George, 102, 426
— succeeds Prideaux, 516

Johnson Island, Confederate prisoners on, 921
Joint High Commission of 1871 meets, 958
— personnel of, 959
— subjects considered by, 959
Joint High Commission of 1898, 1023, 1037
— appointed, 1024
— failure of, to agree, 1025
— subjects discussed by, 1024, 1025
Joliet, Louis, 175, 178, 183
— birth of, 184
— death of, 192
— expedition with Marquette, 185
— home of, destroyed, 192
— loses his manuscripts, 191
— meets La Salle, 181
Joliet, site of city of, 216
"Joly," ship, 242, 246
Joutel, historian of La Salle's party, 249, 256
Judges, status of, in politics, 690, 691
Jumonville, Coulon de, killed, 415
Jury, trial by, established in Canada, 668

Kankakee River, 222
Kasson, John A., Joint High Commissioner, 1024
Kellogg, E. H., commissioner on fisheries dispute, 975
Kempt, Sir James, conciliatory policy, 794
— Governor of Canada, 793
Kenney E., Receiver-General, 940
Kennington Cove, Wolfe lands at, 467
Kent, Duke of, visits Canada, 679, 680
Kickapoo Indians, 225
Kieft, William, sends Jogues to New York, 97
"Kingdom of Canada," 936
King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 932
Kingston, first capital, 737, 867
Kiotsaton, Iroquois chief, 99, 100
Kirke, Admiral David, 131
Kirke, Gervase, heads privateering expedition against Quebec, 75
Kirke, Thomas, surrenders keys of Quebec to Caën, 78
Klondike, gold discoveries in, 1021
Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia, 132
Kondiaronk, Indian chief, 276, 277

La Barre, La Ferbe de, 237, 240, 266, 267
Laboratoris Terra (Labrador), 21
Labrador, 20, 33
— natives of, enslaved, 20
Lachine, massacre at, 278
— La Salle settled at, 179
Lac St. Sacrement (Lake George), 428
Lacombe, Father, 1013
La Corne, St. Luc, French soldier, 516
Lacorne, head of Jesuits in Canada, 575
La Dauversière, Jerome le Royer de, 85

INDEX

Lafayette proposes invasion of Canada, 634
Lafleche, Bishop of Three Rivers, 1014
La Flèche, Father, missionary, 124
La Flèche, in Anjou, 85
Laflamme, Laurier, preceptor in law, 991
Lafontaine, Attorney-General for Canada East, 870, 877, 880
Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry, 877, 885
La Forest, partner of La Salle, 220, 222
La Gallisonière returns to France, 409
— sends Bienville to Ohio, 408
La Heve, 133
La Jonquière, Jacques P. T., 378, 383, 385, 406, 410
Lake Andiatarocte (George) renamed, 102
Lake Champlain, 601, 764, 765, 766
Lake Erie, battle of, 728, 729
Lake George, 102, 426, 428
Lake Huron, 176, 183
Lake Michigan, 176, 183, 190
Lake Oneida, 68
Lake Onondaga, 145
Lake Ontario, 68, 180
— dominated by British, 747
Lake Peoria, 232
Lake of St. Peter, 90
Lake Simcoe, 67, 107, 220
Lake Superior, 83, 176
Lalande, companion of Jogues, 103
— captured, 104
— death of, 104
Lalemant, Charles, Jesuit missionary, 73, 108, 112, 157
— canonization of, 122
— tortured and killed, 111
Lamberville, Father, 269, 271
Lambton, John George, Earl of Durham, 855, 856
Lambton, Lady Mary Louisa, 876,
La Mott de Luissière, 206, 208
Land grants, Prescott's quarrel over, 684
Land titles, trouble over, 980
Langevin, Sir Hector L., 929, 940, 1000
Langevin, Archbishop, opposes Liberal Party, 1012, 1013
Langy, leader of scouts, 476, 478
La Nouguère replaces Perrot, 264
Lansdowne, Lord, 978, 987
La Peltrie, Madame de, 84, 86
L'Archeveque, 250, 252, 261
La Roche, Jean François, Sieur de Roberval, 33
— settlement on Sable Island, 39
Lartigne, Bishop, demands loyalty, 816
La Salle, Sieur de, 83, 175, 178, 179, 180, 182, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 210, 211, 213, 214, 215, 218, 219, 221, 222, 230, 231, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 244, 246, 248, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 259
La Saussaye, 126, 128
"La Taupine," 194
La Tour, Charles de, 131, 134, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142
La Tour, Claude de, 131, 132
La Tour, Madame, 139
Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, 987, 989, 990, 994, 995, 996, 999, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1027, 1048, 1050, 1052, 1055, 1062, 1063
Laval-Montmorency, F. X. de, Bishop of Canada, 150, 151, 157, 158, 159, 161, 163, 175, 265, 267, 268, 348
Laval University, Quebec, 502
Laviolette warns Mlle. Verchères, 301
La Voche, River, 246
"Lawrence," flagship of Com. Perry, 729
Lawrence, Governor, 386, 390, 393, 396, 397, 402, 461, 930
Law, John, 353
Le Borgye of Rochelle, 140
"Le Canadien," newspaper, 1000
Le Caron, Father Joseph, 66, 67, 70
Legislative Assembly, 665, 668, 676
Le Jeune, Jesuit supervisor, 150
Le Loutre, agent of discord, 384 388, 390
Le Moyne, Father, missionary, 146, 148
Le Moyne, Charles, 299
Léry, Baron de, 22
— expedition of, 39
Lescarbot, Marc, 47, 48
Lévis, Duc de, 441, 451, 475, 509, 521, 532, 545, 550, 551, 554
Lewiston, captured, 742
Lewiston Heights, 207
Lexington, battle of, 587
Liberal majority, 1055
— victory, 972
Liberals, Catholic prelates denounce, 1012
— sweep Canada, 1016
Ligneris, French leader, 517
Lighthouse Point, 467
Lincoln, Abraham, 895, 910, 915
"Linnet," British ship, 766
Liotot, companion of La Salle, 249, 250, 251, 256
Lisgar, Baron, 946, 963
"Little France" in America, 48
Liverpool, Lord, 705
Livius, Chief Justice, 601, 631
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 1040
Long Saut, scene of exploit, 153
Lorne, Marquis of, 976, 978
Lotbinière, Henri Joly de, 976
Loudon, Earl of, 441, 447, 448, 460
Louis XI of France, 14, 22
Louis XIV, 240, 261, 322
Louisbourg, 341, 356, 360, 361, 362, 363, 366, 370, 371, 372, 374, 376, 381, 433, 447, 448, 461, 466, 468, 471, 472
Louisiana, 349, 353, 354, 401, 561
Louisville, site of, 182
Lower Canada favors Union, 864
— lacks militia act, 791
— North-West Republic of, 809
— revolt in, 800, 801, 802
Lowther, Miss, fiancée of Wolfe, 498, 523
Loyalhannon, 491
Loyalists, American, 648, 650, 651, 652
Loyola, founder of Jesuits, 82

Lundy's Lane, Battle of, 751, 753, 754, 756, 757, 758, 778
Lunenburg, 44
Lymburner represents legislative movement, 664
Lynn Canal, 1038

McCarthy, L. G., 1069
McClure, American commander at Fort George, 739
McCrae, Jane, murder of, 612, 614
McDonald, Captain, challenges sentinel, 528, 529
Macdonald, John A., 892, 894, 895, 897, 900, 903, 905, 907, 909, 916, 921, 923, 929, 937, 939, 940, 953, 955, 956, 959, 962, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 975, 976, 977, 985, 999, 1000, 1002, 1003, 1004
Macdonald Administration, 963, 966, 977
Macdonald, Captain, killed, 491
Macdonald, John S., 892, 903, 917, 941
Macdonald, Lady, created peeress, 1001
Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry, 918
Macdonnell, John, of Glengarry, 668
McDonnell, Lieut.-Col., 708, 715, 735
McDonough, Archibald, 848
McDonough, Thomas, American commander, 765-767, 768
Macdougall, W., Lieut.-Governor, 951, 952, 953
— Commander of the Bath, 939, 940
— delegate to Charlottetown, 921
— delegate to England, 949
— Minister of Public Works, 940
— Provincial Secretary, 920
McGee, Thomas d'Arcy, 921, 945, 946
McGreevy, Thomas, 1000
McGregory, demand for release of, 275
Machias, Maine, 136
Mackenzie, Alexander, 967, 971, 972, 974, 975
Mackenzie River, 18
Mackenzie, William Lyon, 828, 829, 833, 834, 835, 839, 841, 844, 845, 846, 847, 850, 885
McKinley, Pres., assassinated, 1031
— character of, 1031, 1032
McLane, David, 683
MacNab, Sir Allan, 849, 850, 872, 897, 899
Macomb, Gen. Alexander, 747, 765, 769
Macpherson, D. L., 965, 967
MacTavish, Gov., 952, 953
Madison, James, 695, 696, 698
Maisonneuve, Sieur de, 85, 88
Maitland, Sir Peregrine, 787, 824
Malone, Canada, 739, 927
Mance, Jeanne, 86
Manitoba, 948, 949, 950, 955, 1029, 1073
Manitoba School Question, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1017, 1022
Manning, Cardinal, 977
March, Col. John, attacks Port Royal, 329
Maria Theresa, 356
Marie de l' Incarnation establishes school, 85
Marin, 370, 410, 485, 517
Marin and Hincks, 885
Maritime Provinces, 930, 933
Marguerite, niece of Roberval, 36
Marquette, Father James, 175, 177, 181, 183, 184, 185, 187, 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, 198, 199, 200
Marquette, Manitoba, 975
Martigny, 517
Martin, Abraham, 530
Martineau, Morcelle, mother of Laurier, 990
Maryland eager for revenge, 434
Mascarene, Major, 357, 370
Massachusetts, General Court, 329, 360
— wrath of, 288
Mason and Slidell case, 914
Masères, Francis, 579
Mass, first said in Canada, 66
Massé, Enemond, missionary, 73, 125, 126, 128
Maverick, Samuel, 139
Mazarin, Cardinal, 149
Medicine men, Indian, 83
Membertou, Indian chief, 48, 124
Membré, Father, 225, 231, 232
Meneval, Governor, 291
Mercer, Colonel, 443
Mercier, Honoré, 997
Metcalfe, Sir Charles, 871, 872
Meules, intendant, 266, 267
Mézy, Governor, 163, 164
Miami River, 408
Michilimackinac, island of, 120, 231, 566, 702
— Strait of, 186
Middleton, General, 983
Mignan, islands of, 191
Militia, 673, 676
— Bill, 916
Mille Lac village, 229
Miller, Colonel, 703, 754, 755
Mills, David, 989, 1036
Milnes, Robert S., 684, 686, 688
Minto, Earl of, 1025
Miramichi, battle at, 551
Mississippi Bubble, 353
Mississippi River, 182, 184, 186, 189, 222, 234, 258
Mitchell, Peter, 929, 940
Mobile, Ala., colony at, 352
Mohawk Indians, 58, 68, 168, 169, 308, 332
Molesworth, Sir William, 805
Monck, Lord, 913, 914, 924, 936, 946
Monckton, General, 386, 398, 499
Moncton, N. B., 509
Monk, Attorney-General, 601, 660
— Chief Justice, 781
Monso, Indian chief, 213
Montague, Dr. W. H., 1011
Montcalm, Marquis de, 83, 253, 347, 435, 437, 438, 440, 441, 444, 455, 456, 450, 474, 476, 497, 500, 524, 529, 531, 533, 534, 537, 541, 542, 556
Montgolfier, Father, 575
Montgomery, Captain, 518
— General, 590, 593, 595, 596

Montmagny, Governor Charles, 80, 86, 101
Montmorency, Duc de, 72, 73
— Falls, 73, 657
— Heights, Wolfe attacks, 508
Montreal, 31, 86, 106, 119, 296, 552, 553, 554, 555, 592, 675, 676, 733, 812, 814, 879, 880, 882, 883, 884
Monts, Pierre du Gast de, 42, 43, 47, 48, 52, 124
Moose Island, 932
Moranget, nephew of La Salle, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252
Moraviantown, British defeat at, 731
Moreau, Pierre, 194
Morin, Speaker, 870, 877
Morley, Hon. John, 1059
Morrison, Colonel, 738
Mountain, Bishop, 680, 792
Mount Desert, battle at, 126
Mount Royal, now Montreal, 31, 61
Mounted Police, 980
Mowat, Sir Oliver, 903, 910, 1035, 1036
Muir, Major, 703
Munro, Prof. W. B., 174, 562, 870
Murray, Sir George, 778, 780
Murray, Sir James, 398, 499, 509, 510, 529, 548, 572, 576
Musgrave, Anthony, Governor B. C., 957
Musquawki, Indian tribe, 354, 355

NAPIER, COLONEL, 497
Napoleon I, 696, 697, 699
"Narrows," the, 53
Natal, Antoine, 53
"Nation Canadienne," end of, 815
National Battlefields Commission, 1079, 1080, 1081
Nelson, Admiral, 684, 685
Nelson, Judge Samuel, 959
Nelson, Dr. Wolfred, 810, 877
Nelson River, 310, 311
Neuville, Sieur de, 202
Newark (Niagara), village of, 739
New Brunswick, 26
— favors confederation, 929
— rejects plan for Union, 923
— railway aid for, 936
— separate Province, 659, 932
Newcastle, Duke of, 360, 375, 909
New England, 95, 323, 325, 433
Newfoundland, 25, 33, 310
— becomes English, 339
New France, 24, 53, 82, 172, 318, 435, 436, 499, 557
New Hampshire Grants, 640
New Lorette, 121
Newman, Cardinal, 894
New Orleans, La., 312, 353, 772, 778
Newspaper, first official, 668
New World, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22, 23, 25, 48, 317
New York, 434, 640, 642, 643
New Zealand, 1027
Niagara, village of, 207, 348, 429, 515, 747, 771
Niagara Falls, 180, 207
Niagara frontier, 707, 720, 770
"Niagara," ship, 729
Nicholls, Gov. Richard, 170
Nicholson, Colonel Francis, 330-332, 342
Nika, companion of La Salle, 250, 251
Nipissing, Indians, 179, 451
— Lake, 63
Norembega, 34
Norridgewock, village of, 346
North, Lord, resigns, 646
North America, 15, 19, 21, 431
Northcote, Sir Stafford, 959
Northwest, British America, 1021
— Company, 948
— settlement in, 1072
— passage, 18, 52
— Republic, 809
North-West Territories Act, 1061
North-West Territory, 950, 951, 980
Notre Dame des Victoires, church, 299
Notre Dame of Montreal, society of, 85
Nova Scotia, 43, 44, 131, 929, 931, 934, 935, 942, 943, 945, 1016
Noyan, Payan de, 487, 488

OATHS BILL, 967
O'Brien, Smith, 945
O'Callaghan, of the "Vindicator," 812
Ochterloney, Captain, 512
Odelltown, American troops ford river at, 713
Ogden, of first Dominion Council, 868
Ogdensburg, 715, 927
Ohio, 639, 663
— Company, 409
— country, 406
— River, 179
Old Lorette, 121
Olier, Jean Jacques, 85
Oliphant, Laurence, letters of, 890
"Olive Branch," ship, 683
Oliver, Frank, 1064
One Hundred Associates, The, 77, 80, 160
"Oneida," brig., 711
O'Neil, General, Fenian leader, 926, 927
Onondaga Indians, 143, 144
"Onontio," Indian name for governors of Canada, 99, 204
Ontario, 651, 652, 1016, 1057
— Beach, 70
Orange societies, 908
Orders-in-Council, 705
Osborn, Capt., 466
Osgoode, Chief Justice, 668, 682
Oswald, Richard, 647, 653
Oswego, N. Y., 148, 348, 430, 442, 443, 444, 639
Ottawa, 21, 902, 927, 981
— Indians, 54
— River, 63
Otter, Col., 1027, 1028, 1029
Ourehaoué, Cayuga chief, 283

PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY, 968
Pacific Railway Scandal, 964
Pakenham, General, 772

INDEX

Palmerston, Lord, 917
"Palmier," ship, 311
Panet, T. A., 671
Panic of 1837, 845
Papineau, Louis J., 784, 792, 793, 798, 807, 808, 812, 815, 869, 877
Parker, Sir Gilbert, 1070
Parkman, Francis, 122
Parliament, Upper Canada, 667, 668, 671, 700, 702, 880, 922
— British, 646
— Representation Act, 887
Parr, Lieut.-Gov., 659
Parrtown (St. John), 931
"Parti Rouge," 885
Passamaquoddy Bay, 44
Peacock, Colonel, 927
Pean, sent to Bastile, 554
Peel, Sir Robert, 799, 875
Pekitanoui (Missouri River), 189
"Pelican," ship, 311
Pemaquid, 306
Pembina, post at, 949, 953
Pentegoet (Castine, Me.), 306
Pepperell, William, 361, 366, 372, 373
Perceval, Sir Spencer, 696, 705
Perrot, Nicolas, 177, 263, 264, 265, 284
Perry, Commodore, 727, 728, 729
Petit Goave, 244
Peyton, Lieutenant, 511, 512
Phips, Sir William, 192, 289, 290, 292, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298
Pickel, Dr., 1049
Pierre, companion of Marquette, 193
Pike, General Zebulon, 715, 717
Pipe of peace, 188
Piquet, Father, 409
Piskaret, Algonquin chief, 98, 101
Pitt, William, 445, 446, 461, 560
Plains of Abraham, 503, 530, 1031
Plassey, victory at, 447
Plessis, Bishop, 686
Plymouth, colony, 46, 50, 81
Point Levy, 506
Point Pelee, 217
Point Saint Esprit, 121
Point St. Ignace, 184
Polette, Antoine, 967
"Polyphloisbioisy," 51
Pompadour, Madame, 461
Ponce de Leon, 18
Pontbriand, Bishop, 540
Pontgravé, 40, 41, 43, 52, 53, 54, 125
Pontiac, 564, 565, 566, 572
Pope, decrees of, 34, 35, 98
Pope, Joseph, 959, 1000
Pope Leo XIII receives Laurier, 1022
Port de Paix, 244
Portland, French, 287, 288, 935
Portneuf, 287
Port Royal, 44, 47, 48, 49, 51, 124, 129, 141, 289, 290, 306, 328, 329, 333
Portuguese, navigators, 17
Post, Christian Frederic, 490, 492, 493
Pottawattamie, Indians, 176, 181
Pouchet, Captain in command of Niagara, 516
Poundmaker, Chief, captured, 985
Poutrincourt, 43, 44, 47, 124, 125, 130
Powell, John, 848
Pragmatic Sanction, 356
Prairie du Chien, 186
"Preble," American ship, 766
Preferential Tariff, British, 1021
Prescott, Gen. Robert, 676, 678, 679, 682, 684
Presqu'Isle, 410
Prevost, Sir George, 693, 700, 705, 706, 713, 766, 768, 770, 778, 779
Prevost, Government honors family of, 779
Prideaux, Colonel, 498, 514, 515, 516
Prince Edward Island, 931, 957, 958
Prince of Wales, visit to Canada, 908
Princess Louise, wife of Marquis of Lorne, 976
Proctor, Colonel, 702, 703, 726, 729, 732
"Profond," French ship, 309
Prohibition, vote on, 1023
Protective tariff, 973
Protestant, clergy, 887
— interpreted as Anglican, 827
Prouville, A. de, 165
Province of Canada, 865, 866, 867
Provincial officials, 1071
Prudhomme, Pierre, 232
Putnam, Israel, 485

Qu'appelle, 984
Quebec, 18, 33, 36, 51, 53, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 89, 106, 119, 143, 148, 282, 289, 292, 297, 327, 329, 330, 338, 347, 348, 349, 375, 433, 459, 500, 501, 503, 503, 504, 518, 521, 527, 528, 533, 536, 539, 544, 546, 548, 593, 595, 597, 657, 679, 680, 685, 872, 882, 922, 928, 985, 997, 1016, 1079
— founding of, 51-79
— tercentenary of, 1079-1082
Quebec Act, The, 573, 580, 581, 582, 583, 663, 664
Quebec, Province of, 26, 976
Queen's Own, militia corps, 926
Queenston, 708, 778
Queenston Heights, Brock's monument at, 710, 867
Queylus, Abbé de, 149, 150, 151, 152, 179

Race Suicide, unknown in Quebec, 173
Ragueneau, Father, audience with, 116, 118
Railway, new transcontinental, 1034, 1046
Railways, transcontinental, 1076
Rale, Sebastien, 346
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 25, 38
Ramesay, Commandant at Quebec, 532
— Governor of Montreal, expedition of, against Nicholson, 331
Rattlesnake Hill, 481
Ravaillac, François, 60
Razilly, Isaac de, 133
Rebellion, indemnity for, 872, 873
— Losses Bill, passes, 878

INDEX

Reciprocity, defeated, 925
— treaty with the United States, 889, 890, 891, 907, 922, 924, 1020
Récollets, the, in America, 65, 73
Reformers, convention of, 1859, 907
Regina, Saskatchewan, 1070
Religious freedom, lesson in, 1017
Remedial Bill, 1012, 1014
Remonville, Sieur de, 349
Rémy, Daniel de, 165
Repentigny, 299, 517
Responsible government, first use of phrase, 831
Retreat of Christian Hurons, 119
Revolution, French, 665, 669, 684
Riall, Sir Phineas, 750
Ribourde, Friar, 225
Richelieu, Cardinal, 74, 83
Richelieu River, 166
Richmond, Duke of, 780, 787, 788
Riedesel, General, 612, 625
Riel, Louis, 951, 952, 953, 955, 981, 982, 983, 985
— second Rebellion of, 979
Rigaud, French commander, 381, 445
Ripley, General, 754
Ripon, Marquis of, 959
Rivers-Wilson, Sir C., 1047
Roberts, Captain, 7021
Roberval, Lord of Norembega, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37
Robinson, John Beverley, 831, 973
— John, 525
Rochelle, city of, 75
Rochemonteix, the historian, 106
Rockingham's Ministry, 646
Rogers, the Ranger, 445, 485
Rolfe, John, 838, 847
Roman Catholic church, influence of, against sedition, 810
Roman Catholics and English rule, 655
— small percentage of, in the territories, 1062
Rooseboom, Dutch trader, 270, 275
Root, Elihu, 1040
Rosebery, Earl of, 971, 1002
Roses, War of, 14
Ross, General Robert, 771
Rouen, 21, 150
"Round Robin," a seventeenth century, 138
Router, French renegade, 256
Rouville, Hertel de, 323
Rowlatt, S. A. T., 1042
Royal Commission, on bribery charges, 967
"Ruined Castles, The," 189
Rupert's Land, 951
Russell, Jonathan, 774
Russell, Lord John, 865
Russell, Peter, 659
Rutherford, A. C., 1071
Ryswick, Treaty of, 312, 321

Sable Island, 21, 22, 39
Sackett's Harbor, Champlain at, 68
Sackville, Lord George, 497
Saget, La Salle's servant, 250, 251
Saguenay, River, 28, 33, 40, 191
St. Albans, Fenian forces at, 927
St. Andrew Society, 882
St. Anthony, Falls of, 228
St. Bartholomew, massacre of, 38
St. Bernard, Marie de, 85
Saint Castin, French trader, 306
St. Charles River, 28
St. Clair, General, 610
— Governor of Ohio, 662
"St. Clement," ship, 137
St. Croix Island, 44, 46
St. Croix River, 44
St. Domingo, 242
St. Esprit, 176
St. Eustache, 815
"St. Francis," ship, taken by pirates, 244
St. Germain, Treaty of, 133
St. Ignace, attack on, 108
St. Jean, mission, 116
St. John River, 44
— fighting at, 813
St. Johns, 35, 310
St. Joseph, mission, 107
— Island, 114
St. Just, Letellier de, 975
St. Lawrence River, 18, 21, 25, 26, 28, 34, 52, 174, 503
St. Lawrence's Day, 26
St. Leger, expedition, 618
St. Louis, rapids, 42
— Rock of, 222
— village, 108, 109
Saint Lusson, Daumont de, 177
St. Malo, 25, 33, 35
St. Mary's Bay, 44
St. Ours, French brigadier, 537
St. Paul, site of, 228
Saint-Pierre, succeeds Marin, 410-411
St. Sauveur, colonists of, 128
Saint-Vallier succeeds Laval, 267-305
Ste. Foy, battle near, 550
Ste. Hélène, Lemoyne de, 298
Sainte Marie, 107, 111, 114
Ste. Marie du Saut, 176
Ste. Thérèse, fort at, 166
Sainte Trinité, 102
Salisbury, Lord, 1038
Salmon Falls, burned, 286
Sandusky, 639, 727
San Juan, island of, 960, 961
"Saratoga," American ship, 766
Saratoga, battle of, 622, 623
Saskatchewan, River, valley of, 979
— country, half breeds in, 980
— capital, at Regina, 1070
Sault Ste. Marie, 181
Saunders, Admiral, 500, 522
Sbarretti, Monsignor, Papal Delegate, 1068
Schenck, General, member Joint High Commission, 959
Schenectady, village, 166, 285, 286
Schley, Commodore, 448
School Question of 1905, handled, 1063
School system, separate, 1007